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GREENLAND

Published by

THE COMMISSION FOR
THE DIRECTION OF THE GEOLOGICAL AND
GEOGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATIONS
IN GREENLAND

VOLUME III

THE COLONIZATION OF GREENLAND
AND ITS HISTORY UNTIL 1929

COPENHAGEN

C. A. REITZEL
PUBLISHER

LONDON

HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1929



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CARLSBERG FUND*

PRINTED BY FR. BAGGE, COPENHAGEN

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TYPES OF EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

BY

GUDMUND HATT. Ph. D.

The possibilities offered to European colonization by the non-European continents partly depend upon the natural conditions of the countries concerned, and partly upon the density of the native population, and the stage of culture which they have obtained.

Of the 149 million km², which constitute the land surface of the earth, hardly more than two fifths are suitable for a white population. The climate of the tropics and the adjoining parts of the subtropics is far too hot for European labour to assert itself, and in the case of more than two fifths of the land surface of the earth an effective exploitation by means of white labour is prevented by the excessive heat. Unfortunately it is in these very parts that nature offers the richest possibilities for cultivation, but the exploitation of these natural resources will probably always be dependent upon the labour of non-European races. Round the Poles we have the arctic and the antarctic countries, constituting in all a little less than one fifth of the land surface of the earth; here the means of existence are generally very poor.

Thus it is within the temperate and adjoining subtropical zones that Nature herself offers the best conditions of life for European colonists. But the European races are not the only ones to exploit these areas. The temperate and subtropical countries of the extra-European continents had already, for thousands of years, provided subsistence for other races, before Europeans found their way across the seas.

In temperate America, in Australia and in New Zealand, as well as in the greater part of North Asia, the material culture of the pre-European populations was so undeveloped and so little effective that these parts were quite sparsely inhabited. Here European colonization meant a complete appropriation of the country, with the entire or partial expulsion and extermination of the aborigines. Conditions are entirely different in East Asia, whose effective original culture made it possible to accomodate a very closely packed population. Here expanding Europe had to rest content with establishing trade connections. The European form of economic life is, it is true, rapidly gaining ground in these parts, but still there are no

possibilities for a European immigration. The power acquired by the Europeans in China during the latter part of the reign of the Manchu Dynasty seems again to be decreasing. The political influence of the Europeans is stronger in Central and Western Asia, but even here there are no great openings for European immigration — the natives are too numerous and too vigorous for that. In certain parts of North Africa a rather considerable European immigration has been going on during the last three or four decades, though the natives are decidedly in the majority and probably will remain so. In the greater part of South Africa the climate is not unfavourable to a European population, but about 85 per cent of the some ten million of inhabitants of South Africa are negroes, and the white element does not increase at a much quicker rate, in some years even at a slower rate than the black element, although immigration, in some measure, is still going on. The conflict between the white and the black races is by no means ended by the conquest of the country by the Europeans. By reducing the natives to a working lower class the Europeans have introduced a social element into the racial conflict, at the same time barring the way for a too numerous European immigration.

Conditions in South Africa form a transition to conditions in the tropics, where the European element must always be decidedly in the minority. In the tropics the European colonists can only assert themselves as a small upper class, directing and exploiting the labour of the coloured races. The value of the tropics to Europeans essentially depends upon the supply of coloured labour, and this explains why the population of the tropics have been moved about to such a great extent; this movement of natives which was started by the Europeans had formerly the character of slave traffic and in more recent years of indentured labour.

With a view to describing the manner in which the colonies are exploited by the colonizing people, we may distinguish between several types, which can be arranged naturally in three main groups: immigration, plantation and trade settlements.¹

The *immigration settlements* represent the most intensive appropriation and exploitation. They spring up in areas, whose climatic conditions do not differ more from those of the Mother-country than that the colonizers are able to acclimatize themselves, and whose native population is so sparse and represents such a low stage of economic development that it cannot offer effective resistance to the conquerors, and in most cases cannot even subsist as a working lower class. The settlers bring with them the culture and the habits of the Mother-country, thus making a community

¹ Cf. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu: *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*. Paris 1874. Wilhelm Roseher und Robert Jannasch: *Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung*. Leipzig 1885. Otto Nordenskjöld: *Kolonisationen och Naturfolken*. Stockholm 1914.

which in many respects is a repetition of the Mother-country, though on the other hand receiving a distinctive impress from the new surroundings and the richer possibilities of life for the individuals found there. The first period of the history of an immigration settlement frequently has the character of a heroic era, in the course of which individual ability and enterprise are given the freest possible scope. An uncommonly fine example of this is the Free State era of Iceland, which still lives in the sagas. In more recent European colonial ventures economic factors make themselves felt rather one-sidedly. The heroes of North America are the captains of industry whose exploits find their visible expression in the immense fortunes amassed by them; owing to the huge extent of the country the heroic era of colonization has here been of especially long duration.

The relations with the Mother-country are of vital importance to the immigration colonies while in their first stages. The exploitation of the resources of a new country demands a constant supply of initiative, labour and capital. For a long while the economic life of the new country is essentially based upon production of raw materials. Agriculture and cattle rearing are the principal trades, the progress of colonization generally being synonymous with the conquests of agriculture, and therefore the term agricultural colonies is frequently used about immigration colonies. Also forest exploitation, mining and other direct exploitation of the natural resources of the country leave their impress on the economic life of the immigration colony. The settlements must for a long time supply their consumption of finished articles of industry by means of import, thus drawing their subsistence from the Mother-country's surplus of labour, capital, initiative, technical skill, and finished articles.

But long before a colony is able to do without these supplies, its desire for independence begins to make itself felt in its relations to the Mother-country—and the sooner the more vigorous the colony. Right up to the time of the Great War the economic development of the United States of America was, in some measure, dependent upon European immigration; but already in 1776 the Declaration of Independence was issued, by which British colonists broke off political communication with England and stood forth as an independent nation among the nations of the earth. That a number of British immigration settlements have retained their political connection with the Mother-country, notably Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, principally depends upon the fact that England has gradually given these countries self-government of such an extensive nature that they are practically independent states, which only of their own free will remain within the British Empire and cooperate with it.

The destination of the immigration settlements thus seems to be an increasing independence of the Mother-country, resulting in self-government. It should, however, be added that political independence by no means

signifies that all ties between settlement and Mother-country are severed. Thus the United States of America, after breaking away from the British Empire, has been an important field of immigration for England, and has even been capable of imparting the English language and several other cultural elements of English origin to the immense stream of immigrants from the European continent. The United States of America, it is true, has been the principal area of immigration for nearly all European nations, and thus, to a certain extent, all Europe is the Mother-country of this new world power. But for all that it is in the main the Anglo-Saxon foundation which has determined the development of the United States, and on the other hand the independent United States has contributed very considerably to the powerful position occupied throughout the world by English language and culture.

The *plantation settlements* are chiefly to be found in regions, where the climate prevents European immigration on a large scale. The settlers here make an upper class, exploiting the economic possibilities of the country by means of the labour of a subjugated race. This subjugated population is generally the original inhabitants of the country, as for instance in the settlements in tropical Africa, and most of the former Spanish settlements in South and Central America. In several cases, labour is imported, as for instance in the West Indies and Guayana, where negroes and, of more recent years, coolies from the East Indies are employed. The racial difference strengthens the social gulf separating the upper and the labouring classes. However, a mixture of blood takes place in a greater or lesser degree, and if the immigrating ruling element becomes somewhat numerous and mixes strongly with the native population, the contrast between those who rule and those who serve may, to a certain extent, be mitigated; in several of the former Spanish-American settlements the development is shaping in that direction. In other cases the ruling element decreases as the result of the unfavorable climate or unstable economic conditions, whereas the lower race flourishes; this has been the case almost everywhere in the West Indies.

The economic life of the plantation settlements is, in a striking degree, determined by the raw materials produced, the object of their foundation being to supply the Mother-country's need of such, especially tropical agricultural produce, sometimes also minerals (Spanish colonies in Mexico and Peru). Some authors have introduced "mining settlements" as a special group, but this term is not a very appropriate one, for in the "mining settlements" the values obtained from agriculture, cattle-rearing, forest exploitation and other raw produce are generally even greater than those of mining.

In the plantation settlements efforts to obtain political independence and separatist tendencies may make themselves felt within the working lower classes, but also within the white upper classes whose interests here, as

in the immigration settlements, may become opposed to those of the Mother-country. It was a social revolution which deprived France of the most flourishing of the West-Indian plantation settlements, but it was principally the Spanish-American upper class which drove away the troops and officials of the Mother-country from the continent of America and founded the Spanish-American republics. If the emancipation of a plantation settlement is due to the rising of the lower classes, it means the expulsion of the white element, and so results in the country losing its importance to world trade. If, on the other hand, the emancipation is brought about by the white upper classes, the latter may possibly retain the direction of the political and economic life of the country, and the produce of the country remains at the disposal of world trade. In the Negro republic Haïti, an economic life directed by white people has only of quite recent years been able to assert itself. As far as the Spanish-American colonies are concerned the separation from the Mother-country was by no means a loss to the world economics — on the contrary, the Spanish-American republics have been far more open to European and North American enterprise and capital than were the Spanish settlements.

In *trade settlements* the colonizing people are a foreign element. Here the colonists do not strike root nor amalgamate with the native population; an official or a merchant may work for a lifetime in a trade settlement, but he still remains a citizen of his native country. Typical trade settlements were the Hanseatic establishments in Scandinavian towns; equally good examples are, at the present time, the European settlements in the cities of China. The trade settlements, in their first stage, occupy comparatively little territory, being as it were small foreign bodies within the autochthonic state and deriving profit from its economic life through trading. If the autochthonic states are comparatively weak, the trade settlements will obtain very great influence, as, with a view to safeguarding the economic life, they gradually take upon themselves the maintenance of order, the construction and upkeep of means of communication, improvements of sanitary conditions etc. The trade settlements may in the end entirely absorb the autochthonic states or reduce them to a mock existence. Thus after the middle of the 18th century the British trade settlements in India became the starting point of the British-Indian Empire, and so also the Dutch-Indian colonial empire has developed from the Indonesian trade settlements. British as well as Dutch India still in many respects have the character of trade settlements, although the ruling people have gradually come to exercise such a vital influence on the economic life of these countries that the term plantation settlement seems to be more appropriate; this particularly applies to Java and a few other parts of Dutch India, whereas in British India production is in the main still directed by natives.

The trade settlements are upon the whole a rather unstable group of

types. Every trading settlement has a greatly irritating effect on the autochthonous community in which it has been established. If this community is strong enough not to let itself be conquered by the trade settlement, then, sooner or later, it will liberate itself from the foreign body; thus the German Hansa was expelled from the Scandinavian towns, and thus the nationalists of China are now trying to rid themselves of the Europeans. If, on the other hand, the autochthonous community is too weak to maintain its independence, it will gradually become so deeply dependent upon the colonizing strangers that the latter will become the undisputed masters and exploiters of the country. Many settlements have from the start been of a purely commercial nature, but have gradually developed into immigration or plantation settlements. New Amsterdam, the forerunner of New York, was thus a trade settlement, its principal interest being the fur trade. British Malaya is one of the most important plantation settlements of the present day, but the activity of the British began with the establishment of the trade settlements of Penang and Singapore.

Thus there is no sharp distinction between the three principal groups: immigration, plantation and trade settlements, and in many cases it may be doubtful to which of the three groups a settlement should be allocated. There are settlements which it is difficult to refer to any of the three groups. A kind of transition form between trade and plantation settlements are the so-called cultivation settlements where the European administration by various kinds of compulsion, instruction or encouragement induces the native population to direct their efforts towards the production of articles, which are of value to the European trade. Such an experiment on a large scale was the "Kulturstelsel" of the Dutch, which was introduced in Java (1831); by this arrangement the Javanese peasants had to give up one fifth of their land to the state and devote a certain number of days in the year to the cultivation of coffee, sugar, pepper, indigo, tea and tobacco. The produce was turned over to the Government for a small payment which was far below the market price. This "cultural system" was economically a tremendous success. It was, however, sharply criticized in Europe, as inhuman compulsory work, but when, after a few decades, it was gradually abolished, it had prepared the way for a profitable manner of running the plantations, based upon hired labour. The rapid increase of the population has caused a numerous proletariat to spring up, whose requirements have become greater through the influence exercised by European culture, and who are obliged to work as wage earners.

Another form of cultivation settlement, more humane but hardly so effective from an economic point of view, is to be found in our own days in West Africa. In the British as well as in the French West African possessions, plantations managed by Europeans still play rather an unimportant part, although already at the end of the 18th century, plantations were

founded in the Danish colonies on the Gold Coast. After having been for centuries the Eldorado of slave traders West Africa has of recent years become the part of the continent, where humanitarian considerations make themselves most strongly felt. Agriculture in West Africa is chiefly carried on by independent native peasants, and first and foremost food stuffs for local consumption are produced. However, the influence of the Europeans has stimulated the production of a few raw materials, which are of commercial value. In French Senegal and British Gambia, the greater part of the male population are employed in cultivating ground nuts during the rainy season and the immediately succeeding months. In the settlements on the Ivory and the Gold Coast the natives produce a not inconsiderable amount of cocoa, and in British Nigeria a successful effort has been made to promote the growing of native cotton; the English have established experimental stations in various parts of the country and introduced cotton plants of a higher grade than those formerly cultivated by the natives; further, by regular instruction they have taught them better methods of cultivation, and have created a good market for the native cotton produce by establishing cotton ginneries and making railroads.

The colonization method used in West Africa is, from a humanitarian point of view, undoubtedly much to be preferred to the one practised in other African settlements, where production is mostly carried on in plantations owned and managed by Europeans, while the natives are made to work under the slave-like conditions of indentured labourers, and in many cases become moral and physical wrecks. In British East Africa, especially in the Kenya colony, the natives have been deprived of large and fertile areas, which have been given up to white planters and land speculators. By hard treatment and different kinds of pressure the native agriculturists have been driven to leave their villages. The majority of the able-bodied male population must spend the greater part of the year far away from their homes as indentured labourers for the whites. The wages are extremely low, and native agriculture, as such, decays. Desertion from the place of work is very severely punished, and the attempts which have been made by the natives at producing commodities of commercial value by independent agricultural labour are discouraged in order that the whites should not lack cheap labour. The moving and mixing of labourers from various parts, as well as the wretched conditions under which they live, cause infectious diseases to spread with appalling results.¹

When such widely different colonization methods are being practised by the same nation, in the same continent, this is *inter alia* due to the fact that natural conditions are different in West and East Africa. The hot climate of West Africa is as a rule extremely unhealthy for Europeans; in East Africa, on the other hand, considerable tracts lie at such

¹ Norman Leys: Kenya. London 1924.

high altitudes above the level of the sea that European families are able to live there, when they have good houses with nets to protect them against the malaria mosquitos. Therefore, the number of white inhabitants is proportionally higher in East Africa than in West Africa — the Kenya colony has a population of some two and a half million of whom 11.000 are Europeans, Nigeria a population of more than eighteen million, of whom however only 3900 are Europeans. And whereas in West Africa the administration attaches chief importance to stimulating and developing the native trades, all its endeavours in East Africa are directed towards facilitating the exploitation of the country by the white colonizers.

A rapid and energetic exploitation of the economic possibilities of a settlement will always be desirable from the point of view of the white colonizers; but unfortunately this can rarely be effected without injuring the native population. The vital interests of the colonizers and the natives are in most cases bound to clash. The most intensive appropriation and exploitation of the natural resources takes place in the emigration settlements, and here the lot of the natives is extermination or, at best, absorption. In the parts of the world where the climate prevents a numerous European immigration, the colonial exploitation is dependent upon non-European labour. Here the native population can be rendered useful as a working lower class, but an economically effective colonization may greatly endanger the intellectual and material growth of the natives. On the other hand, it is here for better or worse in the interest of the colonizing power to consider the well-being of the native population. In the best administered and most productive tropical colonies — as for instance Java and the Philippines — the native population has increased greatly in numbers under the white rulers; and in Africa one of the principal tasks of the European colonial powers is to combat infectious diseases. Humanitarian and economic considerations are by no means always at variance with each other. But if a conflict springs up between them, then the economical considerations will generally gain the upper hand.

There is no doubt that humanitarian considerations make themselves far more strongly felt at the present day, than during the first centuries of European expansion. But at the same time, the economic exploitation of the resources of the extra-European continents has become a necessity for Europe, in a higher degree than ever before. The motive power of the oversea activity of the Europeans has never more than in our own day had the character of an economic necessity.

It was not over-population which in the first place forced the Europeans, at the end of the Middle Ages, to make their way across the sea, over-population hardly being a thing to be reckoned with in Europe until the 19th century. The conquest of the oceans and the foreign coasts was not the result of pressure on the population—as a matter of fact it had hardly anything

to do with thoughts and feelings in the population at large — but was rather the result of a demand for luxuries and a desire for wealth among the upper classes, as well as a spirit of adventure, more or less tinged by idealism. With increasing civilization Europe's desire for foreign articles of luxury had also increased. There was in Europe a growing market for spices, silk, precious stones, furs etc., and so the economic power behind the voyages of exploration and colonization sprang, in the first place, from commercial motives. The zeal of Christian missionaries and other idealistic motives in certain cases lent colouring to the movement.¹

In the 16th, 17th and the greater part of the 18th century the overseas countries were not as yet of strictly vital importance to Europe. Through their overseas trade the nations of Europe obtained many articles of luxury, and thus great fortunes were created, but the life and death of the nations was not as yet dependent upon overseas relations. Indeed, for the continental powers of Europe the overseas relations had not become a really vital problem, even as late as the beginning of the 19th century, though the French political writer de Pradt, in his work "*Les trois âges des colonies*", which appeared in 1801, expresses his anxiety that Europe in its absorption by revolution and war was on the point of losing its chief source of wealth, *viz.* the colonies. By the settlement following upon the Napoleonic wars the continent of Europe practically lost all political influence in overseas countries, and yet this loss, from which the Anglo-Saxon world benefited, was not felt very deeply. At the present time, no European power would be a dispassionate spectator of the exploitation of overseas countries.

It is by the modern industrial phase of culture that the overseas relations have come to be of vital importance to Europe. As a matter of fact the rise of industrialism was closely associated with European colonization and in its turn came to exercise a very thorough influence on the intensity of colonization. It was the necessity of providing articles of trade to be exchanged for the produce of extra-European continents which made the British manufacturing industries take to wholesale production by means of machinery towards the end of the 18th century. And the increased industrial production went hand in hand with a rapidly increasing import of raw materials from overseas. In the course of the 19th century industrialism spread to the European continent, thus enormously increasing the volume of world trade. The connection between the economic life of Europe and that of extra-European continents became closer and closer. At the same time the population of Europe increased so greatly that in some countries one might now speak of over-population. And the pressure on the population

¹ Cf. Ramsay Muir: *The Expansion of Europe*. Fourth ed. London 1926. Gustav Roloff: *Geschichte der europäischen Kolonisation mit der Entdeckung Amerikas*. Heilbronn 1913. Charles de Lannoy et Hermann van der Linden: *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens. (Néerlande et Danemark)*. Bruxelles 1911.

was felt all the more strongly, on account of the enormous number of unemployed, caused by the industrial revolution following upon the transition to machinery, by which great numbers of people were forced to emigrate.

The lack of oversea colonies on the part of the European continental powers would, in the course of the 19th century, have created an intolerable pressure, but for the fact that the colonial policy had undergone very essential changes in that century. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries monopoly trade prevailed, and commercial intercourse with a colony was generally reserved for the citizens of the Mother-country or even for a trading company. It is true that already in the 18th century England was the colonial power which was most apt to let itself be guided by liberal principles; and yet also the British Government strove to secure for the Mother-country the commercial exploitation of the settlements. The first great breach in the monopoly system was when the most important of the North American settlements broke away from the Mother-country and formed the United States of America, and the breach was widened very considerably by the breaking loose of Spanish America. After this practically the whole of the American continent was open to the enterprise of all Europeans, irrespective of nationality. And the leading colonial power, the British Empire, became—from the middle of the 19th century—the champion of free trade throughout the world. No nation has done more than the English towards opening the extra-European continents to European trade and industries, and all the nationalities of Europe have benefited from the British work of colonization in proportion to their appropriation of modern industrialism.

Nevertheless, during the last decades of the 19th century a keen rivalry sprang up between the great powers of Europe with a view to obtaining settlements, particularly in Africa, Asia and Oceania. The chief causes of the increasing tension which finally culminated in the Great War sprang from colonial policy. The German empire regarded it as an intolerable danger that the exploitation of the resources of the extra-European continents should be carried on under Anglo-Saxon auspices, and that the large and constantly increasing trade of Central Europe should be essentially dependent on the good will of the Britons.

The fact that the tension between the great powers of Europe arising out of their colonial policies could result in the most terrible of all wars shows the extremely important part which the possibilities of production in the extra-European continents had gradually come to play in the economic life of Europe. The times are far behind when the exploitation of the producing power of the oversea countries was merely a source of wealth to a European upper class; it is now a necessary condition of the economic life of western, central and southern Europe. And the gravity of this is increased by the fact that several of the most important oversea countries during

quite recent years closed their doors to European immigration and set up barriers against European trade.

There is hardly any doubt that if a conflict arises between European economic interests and the well-being of the native population of a settlement, the economic considerations will, also in our days, prove extremely strong. A combination of special circumstances is required in order to make humanitarian considerations prevail in the dealings of a European colonial power with a native population. By this we do not intend to say that European colonization has always, or most frequently, been carried on under the banner of self-interest. On the contrary, Spain took Christianity to the heathens of America, and England fought for civilization and against slavery throughout the greater part of Africa. It has frequently been maintained by British authorities that the dominion over a foreign race is to be regarded as a kind of guardianship which must last for some time, that is, until these people become able to govern themselves and take up their position as men with equal rights among the independent civilized nations of the earth. Still, there is hardly any doubt that the British Empire will not voluntarily let go any possession, as long as this giving up might lead to the territory in question being lost to the economic life of the British.

That European civilization in very many cases has been a curse for native races, is universally accepted, for the subjugated peoples have had many and eloquent advocates among the European authors who have written the history of European colonization. The cruelties of the Spaniards in America were, already at the beginning of the 16th century, made known to the civilized world through Las Casa's writings, which were inspired by honest indignation. In the 18th century the French authority on colonial history, Raynal, made such violent onslaughts on slavery and other inhumane measures that he was exiled and his books burnt by the hangman. That the English, who more than any other nation had taken part in the slave traffic, became its keenest and most effectual opponents in the 19th century, was among other things due to the fact that a number of prominent English writers had roused popular feeling against slavery. At a later period warm-hearted writers of all European nationalities have fought by mouth and pen against other forms of suppression of the exotic races. In order to get an idea of the deeply rooted ill-will felt at the present time by representatives of foreign races against the colonial activity of the Europeans—even in places where the Europeans think that they have done much good for the natives—one should also read what their own writers have written about colonization, as for instance the learned and formally very impartial investigation "Comparative Colonial Policy" (1926) which was written by the Indian Professor V. Shiva Ram.

Still, we might mention examples of native populations having profited by the protection of a European power against the exploitation of white

colonists and European trade. The British administration, in many cases, has acted as a safeguard for the rights of native races, as for instance in South Africa where the Britons have supported native tribes against the Boers. It should, perhaps, be added that this policy not only has benefited the natives, but has also strengthened the position of Great Britain herself.

It is most difficult to secure the well-being of the natives in countries which contain natural possibilities for a richer trade, and a greater and more valuable production than the natives are able to cope with. On the other hand, it should be comparatively easy to safeguard the rights of the natives in regions where Nature is so poor that European trade cannot make any great profit by it. Nevertheless, European influence has frequently, in the very poorest regions, greatly detracted from the original resources of the natives by exhausting the possibilities at hand. European hunters have reduced the amount of game in Kalahari, thus greatly diminishing the means of subsistence of the Bushmen, and so also within the arctic area the penetration of Europeans in many places has made the existence of the natives more precarious by reducing the number of animals to be found in those parts.

In the above (page 1) the tropical zones were mentioned together with the arctic regions as areas unfit for a white population. As a matter of fact there is from a colonial-geographical point of view a marked contrast between the polar regions and the tropical zones. In the tropics European colonization is hampered by the fact that the climate is unhealthy for Europeans. It is true that medical science has succeeded in diminishing the dangers which threaten white colonists in the tropics, but for all that European workmen will scarcely ever be able to compete with native labour in these parts. Within the arctic zone conditions are different. The arctic climate is hardly in itself unhealthy to the whites, especially not to people from north-western Europe. Iceland, which for a thousand years was the home of one of the ablest of the civilized nations of Europe, lies on the very border line of the arctic climate, and in the Middle Ages Greenland was the seat of a European settlement which managed to keep alive for about five hundred years.

Nevertheless the arctic area has had a very small share in the emigration which has attended the strong European expansion of the last few generations. Indeed, not merely the arctic zone, but also the immediately adjoining part of the northern evergreen forests has exercised very little attraction on white colonists. The huge country, Alaska, which is situated in the same latitude as Fennoscandia and has a somewhat larger area, has attracted the whites by its great wealth of gold, copper and other minerals, as well as fish and furred animals. The climate, it is true, is much more inclement than that of Scandinavia, but it is arctic only in the northern and western regions. In the southern part of the territory there are considerable stretches, where agriculture and cattle rearing are possible, to which should be added the

store of raw material and power contained in the woods and waterfalls. And yet, in spite of all this, Alaska as late as 1920 had only 55,000 inhabitants, of whom only 28,000 were whites; though on the other hand it should not be forgotten that there are about 20,000 seasonal workers who spend a few months of the year in the mines and at the fisheries, the canneries etc. The permanent population has been stationary or decreasing during the present century. Still more sparsely populated are the arctic and boreal regions of the Dominion of Canada. The coast of Labrador which makes part of Newfoundland is of comparatively great importance because of its rich fisheries, and yet there are less than 4000 inhabitants on this coast, although it is visited in summer by numerous fishing expeditions.

The reason why arctic countries exercise so little attraction for European settlers is a very obvious one. The arctic countries are extremely poor in means of subsistence. There are, it is true, natural riches which can be and are exploited by the whites, but the excellent means of communication of modern civilization makes it possible to exploit these riches by means of seasonal workers. Within the arctic area fishing, hunting and mining are done by people whose homes lie hundreds or thousands of miles away from there, in temperate regions. What civilization requires by way of arctic produce can easily be supplied without any considerable immigration to arctic countries. A few points of support on the coasts are all that fishers and hunters from civilized countries need in the arctic regions.

Therefore, the natives of arctic countries are not in danger of being expelled from their own country by a numerous invasion of settlers. And yet their economic existence is threatened by great dangers on the part of Europeans, the stock of animals in arctic regions having in many cases been diminished by the ruthless activity of European hunters.

The Danish administration of Greenland for a long time has regarded it as its chief object to guard the economic existence of the Eskimos against destruction. The reason why the trade monopoly is still maintained, and why Greenland—with the exception of the non-colonized parts of the east coast—has hitherto been closed to non-Greenlandic fishers and hunters is the consideration of the well-being of the Greenlanders. Greenland is one of the few colonial areas where the consideration of what is best for the native population weighs more heavily than the demands of European trades.

It would, however, hardly have been possible to follow this line of policy if Greenland had been under the protection of a nation whose citizens had taken an active part in the exploitation of arctic fishing and hunting possibilities. Under Norwegian, British or American supremacy the coasts of Greenland would undoubtedly have come to yield trading centres for European or American firms interested in hunting and fishing. The exploitation of its resources would in that way have progressed at a more rapid rate: greater export values would for a time have been brought home from the

country—but this would by no means have benefited the native population, whose fate would have become similar to that of the Labrador Eskimos.

The monopoly trade carried on by the State or by privileged trading companies was characteristic of all colonization in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. In the 19th century the monopoly trade almost everywhere had to give way to free competition. In countries whose commercial possibilities are comparatively small and can only be exploited by means of expensive establishments and enterprises, there is even in our own day a strong monopolistic tendency, and although the trade is nominally open to all, circumstances in these countries will be of such a nature that a few firms which have come out victoriously from the competition will virtually have a sort of trade monopoly. In Alaska and the arctic areas of the Dominion of Canada it is, it is true, not the State which carries on monopoly trade, but a few strong companies have monopolized the economic life of the country. If Greenland should be thrown open to private initiative, the result here would also be that a single or a few trading companies obtained the virtual power; and there is hardly reason to believe that any Danish company would have won in a competition of this kind.¹

The fact that the principle "Greenland for the Greenlanders" has come to be the prevailing one in the Danish administration of the Greenland settlements, has undoubtedly greatly benefited the natives, and has probably also contributed to maintain the connection between Denmark and Greenland.

Greenland is one of the trade settlements where the colonial power exercises a considerable influence on the economic life of the natives, while the natives at the same time to a very large extent have been permitted to keep their economic independence. In our own day the administration endeavours to develop and stimulate the economic life of the Greenlanders in certain directions; fishing especially is being encouraged. But here also it is the well-being of the Greenlanders which is the chief consideration. The object is to teach the Greenlanders themselves to exploit the resources of the country. Greenland should contribute as much as possible to the economic life of the world, but in such a manner as to benefit the population of the country itself.

¹ Cf. C. N. Hauge's excellent treatise »Administrationen af Grönland«. Det grønlandske Selskabs Aarsskrift 1926—27, pp. 40—64.

THE STATUS OF GREENLAND IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

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The history and legal position of Greenland present several aspects which are interesting from the point of view of international law. Some of the laws prevailing in that country are even principally applicable to non-residents, although they are naturally only enacted or maintained in the interests of the inhabitants themselves.

It is not within the scope of the present treatise to give a complete summary of all these problems, and only a few separate points will be touched upon. Taking the rules for access to the country (I) as our point of departure, we shall also discuss the regulations now in force as regards fishing, hunting, trading and navigation (II). Then we shall give an account of the rules applying to the definition and extent of the territorial waters (III), and finally mention will be made of certain special regulations in force in East Greenland (IV).

I

The Danish Government have always attached great importance to the maintenance of certain rules for *access* to the country during the two centuries since regular communication with Greenland was resumed, after having been broken off since the Middle Ages. Access to the country, according to these rules, is dependent upon the permission of the Government in each individual case, and these rules apply to Danes and foreigners alike. Their object was, at first, beyond doubt to safeguard commercial interests; and in the regulations dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, which are imbued with the spirit of commercialism, special emphasis is laid on the point that trade without permission is prohibited and punishable by severe penalties. Indeed, until 1925, the punishment for illicit trading and other infringements of the special regulations was the confiscation of vessel and cargo, after the vessel seized had been taken to Copenhagen and the case adjudged by the Admiralty Court. In former times these regulations were enforced with great severity. Thus, in 1739, four Dutch vessels were seized in Disko Bay on the west coast and taken to Copenhagen,

and in 1776 the same fate overtook an English brig, which was seized in Davis Strait and condemned in Copenhagen for a slight infringement of the law. On the urgent representations of the British Government, however, the vessel was released, and the Dutch Government also succeeded in obtaining the release of two vessels, which at about the same time had been seized in Davis Strait.

In more recent years, on the other hand, it has, as a rule, been sufficient to call the attention of foreign fishermen and hunters to the prevailing regulations. Still, it cannot be denied that the imposition of such a penalty as the confiscation of vessel and cargo, which seems unduly severe in the case of minor offences, has proved unpractical, not only in the cases already mentioned of the seizure of foreign vessels, but also on other occasions. And, if for no other reason, it was a great step in advance when by the Greenland Fisheries and Hunting Act of April 1st, 1925, the penalties for illicit trading, hunting and fishing were converted to fines, together with confiscation of illicit profits and of the hunting or fishing implements. Nowadays, illicit hunting and trading entail confiscation only in very aggravated circumstances, so that this severe punishment, which for several centuries was the only possible one, can now only be applied in quite exceptional cases. The Greenland Fisheries and Hunting Act is on this point less severe than the corresponding Norwegian laws (Act of June 2nd, 1906, prohibiting all foreign fishing in territorial waters; Act of May 13th, 1908, prohibiting fishing by trawling, and Act of February 1st, 1924, relating to whale-hunting). The Greenland law is also less severe than the Icelandic Act of May 18th, 1920, relating to trawling, according to which the captain of a ship can be sentenced not only to heavy fines, but to imprisonment.

Control of access to Greenland is still maintained, but nowadays it no longer has in view the safeguarding of the trading interests of the Danish State. It is still, however, the rule—for that matter similar rules apply to most arctic countries—that anyone, whether private individuals, scientific expeditions or fishing vessels desirous of visiting Greenland, should obtain permission beforehand; not because it is hoped, by this means, to benefit the economic status of the Government, but merely to protect the population of Greenland against the dangers from unchecked communication with the outer world, and, as far as possible, to reserve its resources for the inhabitants of the country, to which the native population itself is entitled by the right of natural priority.

However, it is by no means desired to prevent foreigners from visiting Greenland, for instance for the purpose of carrying out studies, or conducting expeditions, provided that the latter can give sufficient scientific guarantees and are recommended by their Government. In such cases the Danish Government not only readily grant permission, but the authorities in Copenhagen and Greenland are always offering their assistance and support.

II

The following rules applying to fishing, trading and navigation may be mentioned:

1. In pursuance of the Royal Statute of March 18th, 1776, and of the Greenland Fisheries and Hunting Act of April 1st, 1925, all whaling, sealing, fishing and hunting in Greenland waters is exclusively reserved for native Greenlanders or other Danish subjects settled in Greenland, and for those who have obtained special permission from the Danish Ministry of the Interior.

Under an Act of May 30th, 1927, the Minister of the Interior was, however, authorized to permit, on certain conditions, *fishing* carried on by Danish fishermen, from June 1st to October 15th, 1927, in the territorial waters outside a limited part of the west coast (in the district of Godthaab). This authorization which was, in the first place, given for the benefit of fishermen from the Faroe Islands was renewed by an Act of April 4th, 1928.

The prohibition of fishing and hunting in Greenland has long ago obtained international recognition and is, for that matter, not peculiar to that country, foreigners being generally, in other countries also, prohibited from fishing in territorial waters. The characteristic feature of the Greenland rule is rather that most Danish subjects, i. e. all who are not residents of that country, are also prohibited from fishing and hunting off Greenland.

As already stated, most countries make use of their right under international law to reserve for their own subjects the privilege of fishing in territorial waters, amongst others Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Germany, the Soviet Union and Spain. Individual states may, of course, by treaty authorize the subjects of other powers to carry on fishing in territorial waters inside certain, more or less accurately defined, limits, and in this connection we may mention a convention of July 28th, 1907, by which Russia gave permission to the Japanese to fish (but not to catch seals) on the Russian portion of the coast of the Pacific; also, the peace treaty between Finland and the Soviet Republics of October 14th, 1920, which authorizes the subjects of these countries to carry on fishing within their maritime belts in the Arctic Ocean. Further, Denmark and Sweden agreed by treaties of July 14th, 1899, and October 5th, 1907, that the net fisheries for herrings in Öresund and off Bornholm should be common to the fishermen of both nations, with certain limitations. By the Treaty of Union with Iceland of November 30th, 1918, Danish subjects, irrespective of domicile, have equal rights with the Icelanders to carry on fishing in Icelandic territorial waters, and conversely a similar arrangement applies to Icelanders in Denmark. Finally, it should be mentioned that the fisheries in Flensborg Fiord are common to Danish and German fishermen residing there, in accordance with the terms of a treaty between Denmark and Germany of April 10th, 1922.

As to *whaling* in parts of the world other than Greenland it may be mentioned that whaling off the Faroes by an Act of July 14th, 1927, is reserved for the inhabitants of the Danish Realm, i. e., practically, for the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands themselves. In Iceland whaling is prohibited by an Act of November 22nd, 1913, even for the Icelanders themselves. In the northern part of Norway whaling was completely prohibited by an Act of June 28th, 1913, but under the terms of an Act of February 1st, 1924, it is now possible, on payment of a duty, to obtain permission to carry on whaling. In the British Empire the capture and elaboration of whales is prohibited in territorial waters, without special permission; this applies to Scotland, Ireland, Canada, New Zealand, South Georgia and the Falkland Islands. In the French and Portuguese colonies whaling is also dependent upon a concession, which is only to be obtained on rather strict conditions.

Pursuant to the Greenland Act of 1925 and additional regulations of May 22nd, 1925, *navigation* in Greenland waters is prohibited, unless all whaling and sealing gear, fishing tackle and hunting implements are stowed inboard and the boats are placed in the ship in their usual places. Similar provisions occur in other fishery laws of a recent date, for instance, those of Iceland and Norway.

The navigation rules which have been in force for centuries have been maintained, so that, with the exceptions stipulated by the new law, Danish and foreign ships must still obtain special permits to call, or stay at, the islands or coasts of Greenland. In the regulation regarding the stay of ships in Greenland ports or anchorages, the law, in its new form, is also modelled upon the Icelandic and Norwegian laws. The rule that foreign vessels are not authorized to take their catch to Greenland territory and prepare it there, or otherwise to stop in Greenland waters, is not peculiar to that country.

The regulations mentioned above presuppose that there is the usual right of passage through the territorial waters in accordance with the general rules of international law.

2. Owing to the monopoly in Greenland held by the Danish Government the latter not only assume responsibility for the disposal of the entire export produce of the country, but also for the supply, at especially low prices, of all that the inhabitants do not produce themselves. This system entails a very considerable expense on the Danish state, but—at any rate for some time to come—it must be considered necessary, for the sake of the Greenlanders, to maintain it. The monopoly system is incompatible with the liberty of trading, and the new law—as of course has hitherto been the case—requires that those who wish to trade with the inhabitants of the country shall obtain special permits. Further, for sanitary reasons, all

other communication with the native population is forbidden, as for instance selling and giving away old clothes, bedclothes and the like.

This regulation regarding personal intercourse cannot, however, be interpreted as applying to other persons living in Greenland. Thus, it does not apply to the local authorities, with whom strangers, under certain circumstances, may also get in touch, even if they are not permitted to visit the country. This more especially applies to two cases, *viz.* to ships in distress and to watering.

3. As long ago as 1758, in the Ordinance of April 22nd, and 1776 in the Royal Statute of March 18th, express mention was made of those who "for reasons beyond their control, such as shipwreck or lack of fresh water" were obliged to seek harbour in Greenland and the adjoining islands, in which cases they were exempt from the prohibition against navigation. Although, of course, in conformity with generally recognized rules vessels in distress are always entitled to seek harbour or shelter in or off Greenland, it has nevertheless, to avoid all possibility of doubt, been expressly stated in the Act of 1925 and in several other modern fisheries' acts.

This latter provision is interpreted by the Danish authorities in the most considerate manner possible.

4. While the Royal Statute of March 18th, 1776, only mentioned, besides shipwreck, lack of fresh water as entitling vessels in distress to seek harbour in Greenland, it is specified by later regulations that watering for drinking purposes, apart from cases of distress, may also take place in certain ports in West Greenland.

The maintenance of the fundamental rule pursuant to which watering, for instance for whale boiling, is not allowed without special permission, is due to two reasons. In the first place, the Danish Government wish to protect the native population against the dangerous consequences entailed by unhindered intercourse with foreigners, as, for instance, spirits and infectious diseases; in this connection it should be borne in mind that several epidemic diseases, which in countries of a more highly developed civilization are not considered very dangerous, are deadly to the Greenlanders; for instance, the measles. Another reason for maintaining the rule is that the Danish legislation does not wish to facilitate the carrying on of fishing by foreigners to the detriment of the sealing and fishing of the Greenlanders who are so greatly dependent upon these occupations.

For these reasons, foreign as well as private Danish ships which are not in distress are referred to certain ports on the west coast to which access is allowed on condition that the rules as to hygiene contained in the regulations of May 22nd, 1925, be observed.

Until 1925 there were three such watering harbours on the west coast, *viz.* Holsteinsborg, Upernivik and Godhavn, which were originally opened

for the benefit of Scotch whalers. In 1925 two more watering ports were opened in the southern part of West Greenland, i. e. Frederikshaab and Sukkertoppen. In 1926 a sixth harbour was made accessible for watering purposes, namely, the harbour on Ravns Storø in the Godthaab District. In compliance with the wishes of the Faroe fishermen this watering harbour was transferred, in 1927, to a more suitable locality, the so-called Faroe harbour, at the mouth of the Kangerdluarsúnguaq Fiord, in the Godthaab District.

In the territorial waters of the east coast practically no fishing is carried on, and ice conditions being very unfavourable to sealing and whaling there is no need of special watering places. Moreover, in recent years access to this coast, where habitations are only found in two places, Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound, has been more widely granted than to the west coast (see below, IV).

5. Before discussing the territorial waters of Greenland, a regulation may be quoted, which is contained in the Greenland Fisheries and Hunting Act and is modelled upon the legislation in force in Denmark and a few other countries. According to article 10 of the Act of 1925 offences against its provisions may, in certain cases, be decided without judgment. In the absence of the "Landsfoged"¹ (i. e. sheriff), or when circumstances render it desirable, the captain of the Danish fishery protection cruiser, after having satisfied himself that an offence has been committed, is authorized to serve the offender with a writ to the effect that if he pleads guilty and so desires he may within a period, to be fixed by the captain, either declare himself willing, without further prosecution, to pay a fine, to be imposed by the captain, or to give security for the payment thereof, at the same time surrendering the articles unlawfully obtained, the catch unlawfully taken, and the gear and implements unlawfully used. If the fine is paid and the articles liable to confiscation are surrendered, no further proceedings are taken.

This article was devised in order to enable skippers to settle minor infractions on the spot without judicial proceedings being taken, so as to avoid a lengthy interruption of their fishing. The provision is, however, only applicable when the captain of the Danish fishery protection cruiser has satisfied himself that an actual infringement of the law has taken place (it is not sufficient that the offence be supposed to have been committed) and when the ship-master pleads guilty and desires such a decision.

The fact that this stipulation is contained in the Act of 1925 may be taken as evidence of the spirit in which the act was devised. Further, it clearly shows the extent to which the old rules, hitherto in force, have been adapted to modern conditions; instead of invariably leading to the *stricte jure* confiscation of vessel and cargo, a minor infringement can be settled

¹) cf. Trade and Administration of Greenland p. 47.

on the spot with the payment of a reasonable fine, provided the transgressor so desires and that the other conditions mentioned above are complied with.

It may be added here that the fisheries' inspection in Greenland waters is carried out by the Royal Danish Navy.

III

The question now presents itself: What is the area to which the aforesaid regulations apply? This question is, as a matter of fact, a double one, that is, firstly: Do the rules apply to the whole of Greenland? (as to this see section IV), and secondly: What is the extent of the sea included in Greenland waters? And this latter question is tantamount to asking: What is the extent of the Greenland territorial waters?

1. In the Ordinances of April 9th, 1740, and March 26th, 1751, it is stated that the limits of the trading posts, generally speaking, should extend for "15 miles on either side of each settlement" (trading post). It is evident that these Ordinances not only applied to the land territory, but also to a part of the sea. It is, however, very doubtful whether the idea was to assign a width of 15 miles to the territorial waters, and there seems hardly any ground for such a supposition.

The width of the *territorial waters* of the Danish-Norwegian Monarchy was, in any case, generally much smaller. On June 18th, 1745, during the war of the Austrian Succession, the extent of the neutrality zone within which privateering was prohibited to the belligerents was, for Norway, fixed at one league offshore. After this limitation had been renewed by a Royal Decree of May 7th, 1756, in connection with the Seven Years War, and by a later decree of May 13th, 1757, which made it applicable to the Danish West Indies, an Order of February 23d, 1759, laid down that the league should be an ordinary sea league of which there are fifteen to one degree. This was repeated in the orders of April 20th, 1759, and November 10th, 1779.

While a neutral zone of four miles (then equal to four leagues) such as prescribed by the Admiralty in Copenhagen in an instruction of 1744, must be considered void on account of the above-mentioned regulations, which were issued in the following year, it was expressly stated in the Ordinance of April 22nd, 1758, concerning navigation in Greenland waters, that the trade prohibition in Greenland also applied to the sea "within four miles off the shore," and this provision was not amended by the detailed Statute of March 18th, 1776.

The Royal Order of February 22nd, 1812, provided, as a general rule, that the limit of the territorial jurisdiction of the Danish Realm was to be fixed "at the usual one sea league from the outermost islands or islets which are not submerged," and this rule also applied to Greenland.

In the Order of 1812 nothing was stated as to whether territorial waters were to be reckoned from high or low water mark; it is, however, assumed that the distance is to be calculated from low water mark.

The "usual sea league" for the purposes of the Order of 1812 covers one geographical mile, or $\frac{1}{15}$ equatorial degree, or 7420 m. For practical purposes it is often indentified with four nautical miles, or 7408 m. The said limit of four minutes is still, in principle, the breadth of Danish territorial waters, especially as far as the customs are concerned, but in many other respects this limit has been subsequently altered, as is the case regarding the width of the Greenland fishery waters, the limit of which the Danish Ministry of the Interior, on July 27th, 1905, fixed at three miles from low water mark.

The Greenland Fisheries and Hunting Act of 1925 laid down three miles as the width of the territorial waters of Greenland. This width of the maritime belt is now, as far as fishing is concerned, generally adopted in Denmark by another Act of April 1st, 1925, as well as in several European countries, and also in the United States of America. Some states, however, maintain a wider limit; thus Norway and Sweden still reserve the fisheries for their own nationals within a limit of four miles, while Spain claims six.

Greenland territorial waters are defined by the Act of 1925 as "the sea inside a line drawn outside islands, islets, holms, rocks and reefs (enrockments) at a distance of three nautical miles from the extreme limit where the land is dry at low water."

The said nautical miles are geographical sea miles, sixty of these making one degree of latitude. Three Greenland sea miles are, therefore, three minutes, or 5565 m.

It may be asked whether the line drawn outside islands, islets, rocks and reefs at a distance of three nautical miles from the outermost land which is dry at low water embraces all water between the line so drawn, and the mainland.

Generally speaking, this question may be answered in the affirmative, provided that the distance between the islands etc. and the mainland does not exceed six miles, *viz.* the double width of the territorial waters. If, on the other hand, an island is situated more than six miles from the mainland, the territorial waters for such islands shall be reckoned separately without any connection with the ordinary three-miles' belt along the shore.

2. The term "inner Greenland seas" used in the Act of 1925 means *national waters*, *viz.* the part of the sea lying inside territorial waters, including, besides ports, harbours, entrances to harbours, roadsteads, bays and fiords, the seas between and inside islands, islets, holms, rocks and reefs not constantly submerged. Thus, for instance, the inner parts of arms of the sea (fiords) are national waters. This term refers to narrow indentations, as distinguished from the term "bay" which linguistically means an inden-

tation wider in proportion to its length than a fiord. The terms "bay" and "fiord" which are geographical expressions, are not, in the theory of international law, accurately defined in a manner universally recognized. The difference, which thus in point of fact exists between these two terms, but which has hitherto not been clearly defined in a fully satisfactory and generally accepted manner, is considered to be without legal importance, the width of the indentation being the criterion.

It is often very difficult to draw the line separating national from territorial waters. In the case of Greenland, however, the distinction between national waters and the maritime belt is, in practice, of minor importance, since the regulations applying thereto in the laws actually in force are to all intents and purposes the same, except as regards the right of passage of foreign vessels through territorial waters. This distinction, between territorial and national waters, is in accordance with the laws in force in Denmark itself, where a legal division of the two zones may in other respects also be essential. Moreover, it is in the very right of passage that the difference between inner and territorial waters becomes apparent from the point of view of international law, inasmuch as foreign vessels, as a general rule—in Greenland as elsewhere—are entitled to free passage through territorial waters (*jus passagii sive transitus innoxii*), whereas in Greenland, as in other countries, except in case of distress, they have no claim to be admitted to inner national waters over which the State holds the same absolute sovereignty as over canals and lakes.

3. With regard to *bays* some states have for centuries claimed for themselves exclusive rights even to the largest arms of the sea along their coasts. The claims of Great Britain to the so-called "Kings Chambers," for instance the Bristol Channel, have not been recognized by other powers, but were still maintained during the proceedings of the Hague Arbitration Court in 1910 relating to the British-American dispute in connection with the North Atlantic Coast Fisheries. These claims, however, if not entirely abandoned, are now no longer maintained to the same extent as in the past.

It may be stated that, as a general rule, territorial waters in bays and gulfs follow the sinuosities of the coast. Consequently, territorial jurisdiction over a bay is universally recognized, when its width does not exceed the double width of the maritime belt. If the latter be three miles, a bay which does not exceed six miles is under the exclusive territorial jurisdiction of the littoral state. Further, territorial jurisdiction is generally recognized over the whole extent of a bay not wider, at the inlet, than the double breadth of the territorial waters, in which case the limit of these is drawn three miles to seaward of the closing line across the entrance.

In several treaties it is, however, recognized that bays which are ten sea miles (or less) in a straight line from headland to headland across the mouth are closed to all fishing by foreigners. As instances may be mentioned

the Franco-British Fisheries Conventions of August 3rd, 1839, and November 11th, 1867. The method of calculating territorial waters in bays according to which the said waters stretch three miles to seaward of the straight line drawn across the bay at the nearest point to the inlet, at which the width is not greater than ten miles, was adopted at the International Convention for regulating the Control of the Fisheries in the North Sea, on May 6th, 1882. The same method of calculation is found in the Convention of June 24th, 1901, between Denmark and Great Britain, regarding the fisheries in the ocean round the Faroe Islands and Iceland, and also in the agreement of July 20th, 1912, concluded between Great Britain and the United States of America, in compliance with the award of the Hague Arbitration Court.

In conformity with the provisions contained in these treaties, the ten miles' rule was laid down for the bays of Greenland by the Danish Ministry of the Interior, on July 27th, 1905. This limit is sanctioned by the Greenland Fisheries and Hunting Act of 1925, according to which three miles' limit for territorial waters shall be reckoned from a straight line drawn across the bay at the point nearest the entrance, at which the width does not exceed ten nautical miles.

By the principles of international law Governments are not free to extend the limit of territorial waters in gulfs and bays for their own national benefit and to the detriment of the interests of other states. There are, however, a few exceptional cases of larger bays in which a claim to territorial jurisdiction may be recognized for reasons connected with the configuration of the land, with special needs for national defence, or with economic considerations. In some of these cases an extended limit of the rights of the littoral state is justified by the law of nations, if such claims can be lawfully based upon secular usage. This applies to the so-called *historical bays* with reference to which an established usage has sanctioned a greater limit than that ordinarily fixed for bays. Thus the United States of America maintain their jurisdiction over the bays of Delaware and Chesapeake on the east coast, these gulfs being $10\frac{1}{2}$ and 12 miles wide at the entrance. France claims the exclusive jurisdiction in the bay of Cancale, although its breadth is 17 miles at the entrance. As to the British Empire, certain rights of territorial jurisdiction are maintained over Miramichi Bay and Chaleurs Bay (14 and 16 miles) in the St. Lawrence Gulf in Canada, Conception Bay (20) in Newfoundland, and even Hudson Bay (50). Further, Norway, on the strength of established usage, reserves for her own nationals the fisheries in the Norwegian fiords whatever their breadth. Thus in Romsdal Fiord the line within which fishery is prohibited to foreigners is 26 sea miles. Varanger Fiord, which is also closed to foreign fishermen and whalers, is more than 30 miles wide, and Vestfiord, in which similar restrictions are in force, is 37 miles wide at the entrance.

Disko Bay on the west coast of Greenland is regarded as a part of national

waters (inner Greenland seas), although it is more than ten miles wide at the mouth from headland to headland. The distance across the entrance between the two settlements or trading stations which are situated there, Godhavn in the North and Egedesminde in the South, is about 34 miles, but of course due regard must be paid to the considerable number of larger and smaller islands which encumber the entrance. The open stretches between these islands in no case exceed six miles in width, except between Hunde Islands and Kitsigsorsuit (seven miles) and between Godhavn and the isles of Asissut (about ten miles). In this calculation the Parry skerries are, however, not included, but if they were, the widest stretch of open water at the mouth would be about seven miles. Without discussing the details of the question whether the islands and skerries situated across and within its entrance would bring Disko Bay under the general rule of the ten miles' limit in bays, it is sufficient to state that this bay, from time immemorial, has been considered part of Greenland waters, to which no ship is admitted, except by special permission of the Danish Government.

As early as the Ordinance of March 26th, 1751, territories closed to non-inhabitants included "all islands and places situated in Disko Bay from Western Island (i. e. the outermost islet to the Southwest at the inlet of the bay) to Svartevogelbay" (at the head of the bay towards the Northeast). This stipulation was renewed in the Ordinance of April 22nd, 1758, which also included amongst the districts closed to navigation and trade "the surrounding islands and localities in Disko Bay." Again, the Royal Statute of March 18th, 1776, repeated the navigation and trade restrictions already in force in Disko Bay.

The general rule laid down by the Fisheries and Hunting Act of April 1st, 1925, for the delimitation of territorial waters in such bays "which according to the existing regulations do not come under the definition of inner Greenland seas" (national waters), by its very wording has Disko Bay in view. The special character of the bay is also pointed out in the explanatory remarks accompanying the Greenland Act of 1925, and in the regulations published on May 22nd, 1925.

In conclusion, the Greenland bays coming under the term "national waters" are:

- a) Such bays or fiords which do not exceed ten miles in width,
- b) the inner part of those bays or fiords in which the territorial waters are measured from a straight line drawn across the bay, at the nearest point to the entrance at which the width does not exceed ten miles,
- c) Disko Bay.

IV

The aforesaid provisions regarding access to Greenland, to hunting and fishing etc., and to territorial and national waters which are contained in

the Act of 1925, apply, in accordance with the terms of this act, to the whole of Greenland.

1. The Danish Government had, however, previously accorded certain rights of access to the uninhabitable regions of the east coast. As this access was granted to a wider extent than hitherto, article 11 of the Act of 1925 provides that the regulations contained in it shall be without prejudice to any rights granted, or to be granted in the future to Danish, Icelandic or foreign subjects, companies or vessels on the east coast of Greenland and in the adjacent territorial waters. The rights of access maintained by the Greenland Act of 1925 refer to the east coast, not including the district of Angmagssalik, to which the usual restrictions of navigation and trade were extended in 1894.

The rights in question consist of free access for vessels, whose crews and other persons on board are entitled to land, to pass the winter and to engage in hunting, sealing and fishing, provided that this be not carried on recklessly and in such a way as might result in the extermination of rare or useful animals, such as musk-oxen or eiderducks. It is lawful, on certain conditions, to take possession of land for use (without obtaining proprietorship therein); further, to establish meteorological, telegraphic and telephonic stations and to construct installations for scientific and humanitarian purposes.

By the Order of July 5th, 1924, the Danish Government granted these rights to Danish subjects, companies and vessels. By these regulations the greater part of the east coast of Greenland was once more thrown open to Danes, as it had been before the promulgation of the orders of May 10th, 1921, and June 16th, 1921, which extended the navigation and trading restrictions to the whole of Greenland. The state of affairs prevailing from 1921 to 1924 in East Greenland in respect of navigation and trade was essentially the same as in the years 1758—1776. From 1776 to 1921 navigation, sealing and whaling on the east coast (apart from the district of Angmagssalik) was lawful, the monopoly and protection system only being applied, prior to 1921, to the colonization districts properly so called. On the other hand, the provisions of the Fisheries and Hunting Act of 1925, as already stated, apply to the whole of Greenland, and so it is a matter of course that no privilege not provided for by that act can be claimed by anybody, except such as may be granted by the Order of July 5th, 1924, or similar regulations. That is to say that trading, for instance, is still prohibited in East Greenland, as it was before the promulgation of the Order of 1924. For practical purposes this is of minor importance, as inhabitants are only settled in two places in the territory: at Angmagssalik, the district of which has been closed to private navigation since 1894, and now at Scoresby Sound where a settlement consisting of Greenlanders was established in 1925. Moreover, immense masses of ice lie along the coast and make it difficult for ships to

penetrate, even to these places, while in other parts of East Greenland they form almost insurmountable obstacles to navigation.

2. By virtue of the Danish-Icelandic Act of Union of November 30th, 1918, Danish and Icelandic subjects, irrespective of domicile, enjoy equal rights to fish within the territorial waters of either country. Further, Icelandic vessels have the same privileges in Denmark as Danish vessels, and *vice versa*. On the whole, by virtue of the same Act of Union and of the revised Danish Constitution, the Icelanders in every respect have the same rights in Denmark as the Danes themselves, and *vice versa*. Consequently when by the Order of July 5th, 1924, access to East Greenland was accorded to Danish subjects and ships, that part of the coast was at the same time opened to the Icelanders.

3. Right of access to the east coast of Greenland is not, however, granted exclusively to Danish and Icelandic subjects, companies and vessels, but, as will appear from the wording of the Order of 1924, is also enjoyed by nationals of such countries as may have concluded an agreement to that effect with Denmark. This applies to Norway, the Danish Government having by an agreement of July 9th, 1924, granted right of access to East Greenland to Norwegians. The negotiations leading up to this agreement raised protests in Denmark on the ground that it might be detrimental to the vital interests of the Greenlanders and, although for other reasons, in Norway also; but, as a matter of fact, the agreement put an end to long discussions carried on for years in the press of the contracting countries, and practically settled the so-called East Greenland conflict between Denmark and Norway, without having hitherto produced any of the fatal consequences to the well-being of the native population, foreseen by its adversaries.

4. Moreover, on June 4th, 1925, Denmark, by an exchange of notes with the British Government, at the latter's request, granted to Great Britain most-favoured-nation treatment for her subjects, companies and vessels in East Greenland. The rights previously granted to Norwegians are therefore equally applicable to British subjects. In consideration of the union existing between Denmark and Iceland this treatment does not, however, include the special advantages enjoyed by the latter country.

5. It was stipulated in the additional Convention of Commerce and Navigation, concluded between Denmark and France on February 9th, 1842, that French trading vessels should enjoy the same treatment in the overseas colonies of Denmark, including Greenland, as was given at that time, or might in future be given to trading vessels of the most-favoured-nation. Accordingly, French trading vessels under this provision enjoy most-favoured-nation treatment in East Greenland. At the request of the French Government, Denmark also accorded, by a note of October 19th, 1925, most-favoured-nation treatment to French subjects and companies in East

Greenland, without prejudice to the special advantages of Iceland. Thus, most-favoured-nation treatment with regard to ships having already been assured to France on the strength of the Convention of 1842, the same treatment was by the Act of 1925 granted to French nationals and French companies, who are now admitted to the east coast of Greenland on the same conditions as British and Norwegian nationals or companies.

6. By various commercial conventions, concluded during the first half of the 19th century, the Danish Government, in a more or less restricted way, have granted most-favoured-nation treatment with regard to Greenland. Most of these conventions apply to navigation or trading or both, but the greater part of them are now no longer in force (e. g. those concluded with Sardinia, the two Sicilies and Greece), while Dominican ships, pursuant to a treaty of July 26th, 1852, are entitled to put in at the coast of East Greenland, if they so desire. On the other hand, a convention concluded with Prussia on May 26th, 1846, only admitted most-favoured-nation treatment for Prussian ships and cargoes to Greenland, provided that trade in Greenland should be opened to other nations. As this condition has not been complied with, it seems that Germany cannot claim the right of access to East Greenland by virtue of the said convention. This is also the case with regard to most other nations, Greenland being expressly excepted in by far the greater number of commercial treaties concluded by Denmark in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The nationals, companies and vessels of the latter countries are, therefore, in the entire territory of Greenland, including the east coast and its territorial waters, subject to the full provisions of the Greenland Fisheries and Hunting Act of 1925.

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TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION OF GREENLAND

BY

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The trade and administration of Greenland are, as it were, indissolubly bound up with each other in their manner of development, the trade officials being at the same time the representatives of the administrative and judiciary powers, while the costs of administration, as well as of churches and schools, are defrayed by the proceeds of trade.

Consequently, it has been considered expedient to deal with trade and administration in the same article, although the chapters are independent of each other. As the affairs of trade, in point of time, come before administration, this has been dealt with first, while the chapter on administration has been divided into two sections: one on the principles of administration and one on social conditions and organization. These two sections are here and there bound to overlap, as the problems presented are to a certain extent the same, though viewed from different angles, but the distinction has been made in order to show, on the one hand, the principles underlying the government of the country, and on the other the evolution of the social organization under the application of these principles.

THE TRADE OF GREENLAND.

Apart from fisheries and some sheep farming and mining Greenland lacks everything which might make its colonization by white people profitable, so there was only one way in which Denmark was able to exploit its possibilities, *viz.* by trading with the native population. When Hans Egede left for Greenland, in 1721, he founded a private trading company in Bergen, the purpose of which was to provide the necessary funds for the maintenance of the missionary work which was started at the same time. This company established a number of trading posts on the west coast of Greenland, and, further, the traders during their constant journeys along the shore carried on extensive bartering with the natives, but the enterprise did not prove a success from a financial point of view, and after a few years it was abandoned, while the Greenland trade was taken over by the Government and

carried on partly by the State, and partly—for short periods during the eighteenth century—by private companies. However, the system which was adopted and which will be described in the following, goes back to the trading enterprise of Hans Egede.

Trading operations are now, as formerly, directed from Copenhagen, where the Royal Greenland Trading Company has its premises, with warehouses, quays and a number of vessels, some of which are permanently stationed in Greenland. In Copenhagen are purchased such articles as are sent to Greenland, and there also are sold the products which are sent home from Greenland and which, before they are sold, are subjected to the necessary treatment, particularly blubber and liver. In former years the production of seal and whale oil took place in Greenland, but now blubber and liver is sent home, salted and in casks, and is made into oil and solid fat at a factory which has been erected by the company. Further, the various kinds of skins are sorted according to their quality on the premises of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, before they are sold at yearly public auctions.

Trade is carried on in Greenland, partly at the twelve principal trading posts (one in each district) and partly at the so-called outposts, which lie scattered about the districts, at distances of 20 to 50 km, and which receive their provisions from the principal trading stations by means of coasting vessels. Every outpost has an average population of a couple of hundred individuals; in some cases the number of inhabitants is considerably smaller, and it is owing to special conditions that the place is maintained as a trading post, as, for instance, its isolated position or the fact that a larger population gathers there at certain seasons for hunting or fishing.

At the present time (1924) West Greenland (*viz.* the territory from Cape Farewell to Melville Bay) is divided into the following trading districts:

South Greenland:

Julianehaab District	with 8 outposts,	population about	3,400
Frederikshaab	„ „ 3 „ „ „	900	
Godthaab	„ „ 4 „ „ „	1,300	
Sukkertoppen	„ „ 3 „ „ „	1,300	
Holsteinborg	„ „ 3 „ „ „	800	

North west Greenland:

Egedesminde District	with 6 outposts,	population about	1,600
Christianshaab	„ „ 3 „ „ „	600	
Jacobshavn	„ „ 2 „ „ „	600	
Ritenbenk	„ „ 3 „ „ „	600	
Godhavn	„ „ 3 „ „ „	400	
Ūmánaq	„ „ 8 „ „ „	1,500	
Upervivik	„ „ 8 „ „ „	1,100	

Further, there are two trading posts on the east coast, *viz.* at Angmagssalik and at Scoresby Sound, with a population of about 650 and 90 individuals respectively, and a third in the Cape York District, the trading and mission station "Thule", comprising about 250 Polar Eskimos, which was founded by Knud Rasmussen and which up to the present has been carried on by private initiative.

The cargoes from Denmark are unloaded at the trading stations of the districts, and the necessary articles are forwarded to the outposts, from where, in their turn, the native products are transported to the chief trading stations and thence to Denmark. At every chief trading station there is a Danish official, the "Kolonibestyre",¹ who as a rule has one or more Danish assistants; at the outposts, the trader is most frequently a native. Whereas trading at the outposts is done in rather a primitive fashion and is managed by the trader without any assistance, the number of hands required at the chief trading stations is rather considerable, a high percentage of the Greenlanders being employed as artisans, while during the summer season particularly day-labourers are used to a very large extent for loading and unloading, as crews of vessels, for building, etc. Consequently, at all the chief trading posts a proletariat class has come into existence, consisting of people who are not employed at productive work, but who live from hand to mouth by means of odd jobs and who are rarely able to earn their living all the year round.

Trade in Greenland was originally carried on as a kind of barter, the natives receiving various European articles, especially fire-arms etc., dry-goods, cotton, and materials for hunting implements, in payment for their native products; on the other hand, they did not have unlimited access to European provisions, as only the more common articles of food could be obtained in proportion to the value of the products handed in. During the early half of the 19th century this kind of barter still prevailed, but then it was replaced by proper trading, the native products being paid in cash, so that the producer could purchase the goods he required, including victuals, the sale of Danish articles of food being at the same time exempted from the restrictions hitherto imposed. The prices of all articles of trade, the products of the Greenlanders as well as the imported commodities, are now, as formerly, fixed by the Copenhagen administration, lists of prices being issued to all trading posts and maintained for a number of years, irrespective of fluctuations in the world markets. The principle followed in this fixing of prices will be dealt with later on.

The commodities to be obtained at the various trading posts are almost

¹ The "Kolonibestyre"—strictly the manager or superintendent of a settlement—is the official in charge of trading operations within his district. In addition he has various tasks connected with the administration, but as trading is his principal function, trader (agent) will be used here as elsewhere.

the same as those which form the stock of a European country storekeeper, and consist especially of articles of food, such as ground and unground cereals, bread, tea, and coffee; also woollen goods, dry-goods, hardware, fire-arms, powder, and other shooting perquisites, building materials and fuel. Alcohol is not sold, though it can be imported, not only by the Danish officials, but also by the natives employed in the trade and administration, who have, furthermore, access to the necessary ingredients for home-brewing of beer.

The following table, which serves as an illustration of the quantity and kind of articles purchased in one year by the average Greenland household (five individuals) within the period 1903—12, is based upon calculations from North Greenland:

Victuals.....	113 kr. 10 öre	Shooting perquisites	10 kr. 75 öre
Coffee.....	30 „ 35 „	Ropes etc.....	6 „ 55 „
Tobacco.....	19 „ 45 „	Fuel.....	4 „ 95 „
Dry-goods.....	39 „ 85 „	Sundries.....	3 „ 70 „
Tools and hardware	6 „ 85 „	Skins and blubber...	2 „ 55 „
		Total...	238 kr. 10 öre

As will be seen, coffee and tobacco form a very large proportion of all purchases. At many of the trading posts the percentage is still higher (amounting to as much as 119 kr. for coffee and 37 kr. for tobacco), but then these articles of luxury play such a very great part in the lives of the Greenlanders that they would rather dispense with everything else than have to go without them. This is also borne out by the fact that in South Greenland, from which no such statistics are available as those given above for North Greenland, the population, according to rough calculations, spend 76 to 80 per cent of the whole of their income from native products on the purchase of coffee, sugar and tobacco.

Calculated in the same way, that is for a household consisting of five persons, the income derived from native products amounts to:

Blubber and liver.....	92 kr. 30 öre
Sealskins.....	8 „ 50 „
Other skins.....	4 „ 60 „
Other products.....	3 „ 80 „
Total...	109 kr. 20 öre

On comparing these estimates it appears that the latter amount does not cover half of what the average Greenland household spends on the purchase of imported goods. The total value of articles sold at the trading stations in North Greenland amounts on an average to 250,000 kr. a year for the period 1903—12, whereas the amount paid to the natives for their

products is about 131,000 kr. The deficit is mainly made up by wages paid to the regular employees and by payments to day-labourers etc. which amounts, for the same period as the one given above, may be fixed at:

Individuals permanently employed.....	about	40,000	kr.
Day-labourers and mail-carriers etc.....	„	62,000	„
Midwives and nurses.....	„	8,000	„
Catechists and teachers.....	„	15,000	„
Grants from municipalities (the so-called repartition).. <td>„</td> <td>18,000</td> <td>„</td>	„	18,000	„
<hr/>			
Total...	about	143,000	kr.

For the whole of West Greenland the yearly turn-over at the trading posts amounts to about 1,300,000 kr., the articles imported to Greenland being calculated at about 500,000 kr. against commodities sent home to the value of about 800,000 kr. When considering this comparatively small turn-over of the Greenland trade, it should be remembered that the costs are extremely great, especially owing to the precarious communication with the outer world, the expensive administration, and labour conditions in the country itself. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that besides the actual trading costs the Royal Greenland Trading Company also defrays the expenses for administration, as well as for churches, schools and medical aid. The total amount of these expenses will appear from the following estimates, which represent the main features of the Greenland budget during the financial year 1924—25.

Revenues

From trade:

Profit on commodities.....	kr.	2,100,000
Various revenues.....	„	25,800

From administration

Royalties from the cryolite mines	„	600,000
Revenues from other mining.....	„	33,200

Total... kr. 2,759,000

Expenses

For trade:.....	kr.	841,000
„ administration	„	129,500
„ churches and schools	„	265,000
„ public health	„	165,500
„ shipping	„	1,072,000
Common expenses relative to trade, administration etc...	„	95,000

Total... kr. 2,568,000

thus yielding a surplus of about 191,000 kroner.

In spite of the very considerable expenses which, as appears from the above, are incumbent upon the trading company, the average surplus has

been considerable. In the period from 1829 to 1880 an amount of about six million kroner was paid into the Danish Treasury as a surplus on the Greenland trade, of which rather more than two million kroner was in royalties from the working of the cryolite mine which was opened at Ivigtût in 1859. From 1880 to 1914 the balance almost continually shows a deficit, chiefly on account of the declining price of seal oil, but since then there has again been a considerable surplus, partly on account of a big increase in the prices paid for Greenland products, partly in consequence of a considerable increase in the amount of royalties paid by the Cryolite Company, which, as will be seen above, is now 600,000 kr. As a matter of course the value of the native products varies greatly from one year to another, not only because of the great fluctuations in the quantity collected, but also because of the prices obtained from the sale at Copenhagen. For further information regarding the quantity and value of the products sent home during the period 1861—1918 see the subjoined table.

The prices which the Greenlanders have to pay for imported goods and the prices which they, in their turn, receive for their native products are fixed by the Copenhagen administration according to rules which have no connection with ordinary mercantile principles.

With regard to the imported commodities, the trading company has always made a distinction between articles which are considered necessary for the Greenlanders, as, for instance, shooting perquisites, hunting and fishing implements, as well as building materials, and such as must be characterized as articles of luxury, as, for instance, coffee and tobacco. In fixing prices for articles sold in Greenland the principle has been followed that commodities of the former category have been sold with a very small profit, sometimes indeed even with a loss, whereas those considered as articles of luxury have been sold with a considerable profit which, however, has hardly been sufficient to cover the actual costs. All in all, the addition made to the original cost of imported commodities has been so small as to involve losses on practically all articles, whereas the immense expenses for transport etc., in so far as they have been covered by the trade, have been imposed upon the native products, the result being that it has only been possible to pay very small prices to the producers.

In justification of this principle the following arguments have been set forth: For the Greenlanders many commodities, especially all European articles of food, must be considered luxuries, and so an attempt has been made to limit the purchases by high prices, as, particularly in the case of coffee and tobacco, a certain anxiety has been felt for the detrimental effects of an exaggerated consumption. In the same manner it has been considered a dangerous step to raise the prices paid for blubber and sealskins, as these articles are of vital importance to the economic life of the natives who might then be tempted to sell more than they could actually spare,

Yearly average of products sent home, quantity and value, during various periods from 1861 to 1918:

Commodity	Weight, measure, etc.	Quantity				Value			
		1861—70	1881—90	1901—10	1916—18	1861—70	1881—90	1901—10	1916—18
Blubber and liver	100 kg.	12,200	10,932	14,123	13,543	633,906	413,494	397,217	kr. 689,285
Sealskins.....	Nos	36,374	28,872	25,847	29,390	49,589	67,652	83,163	21,659
Foxskins blue	—	702	1,172	1,636	1,835	11,200	37,033	79,788	23,317
„ white	—	514	775	1,096	1,345	1,751	4,458	22,471	8,629
Bearskins	—	47	46	150	145	4,165	6,719	24,004	10,403
Reindeer skins.....	—	66	6	52	?	720	26	183	?
Eiderdown and rugs.....	kg.	248	204	?	2,571	11,323	7,716	12,191	34,870
Bird-feathers.....	100 kg.	34	59	88	121	5,866	8,802	12,843	19,886
Salt fish.....	—	108	20	620	2,554	2,987	511	37,975	145,596
Other products ²						24,986	3,412	4,690	9,819
Total....						746,493	549,823	674,525	963,464

¹ The trade in birdskin rugs only began in the period 1901—10.

² Among other products are reckoned waterproof clothes, baleen, narwhal and walrus tusks and walrus skins.

whereas it has been maintained that a rise in the prices paid for the other native products (for bearskins and foxskins) would partly only be of importance for the individual district, and partly, as far as the foxskins are concerned, would only lead to such intensive trapping that the foxes would be exterminated in a few years.

The principle underlying Greenland trade, which has frequently been very severely criticized, and which Otto Nordenskiöld, the Swedish authority on colonial questions, has characterized as economic coercion, is not unimpeachable. In its effects it leads to difficulties which it seems impossible to solve, nor is it by any means acceptable to the Greenlanders themselves, who know very well that they receive unreasonably low prices for some of their products, and do not realize that a revision of prices would, in its turn, involve higher prices for all articles purchased, thus being highly detrimental to all non-producers.

On the other hand, the objection has been raised against this principle that the artificially fixed prices place the economic life of Greenland on an incorrect basis, and that the producers are made to pay all the trading costs by having to procure necessities for the remainder of the population at a sacrifice; in that manner the inclination to practice the national occupations—fishing and seal hunting—is weakened, while at the same time the common basis of all economic progress, *viz.* that the producer receives the full profit for his work and that the consumer must pay what it costs, is arbitrarily removed. Another weighty objection is that by imposing the burdens upon the producer and thus checking the development of the Greenlanders, the trading company deliberately excludes every possibility of their being educated up to free trade.

And here we are at the crux of the matter. The economic policy followed is only possible as long as the Danish State is able to maintain its trade monopoly and to keep Greenland closed, and these two maxims have throughout been the decisive and characteristic feature of the Danish administration of Greenland.

As early as 1723 the exclusive right of carrying on trade in Greenland had been conferred on the Bergen Company, but a general prohibition against trading with the natives was only issued in 1734. Although this prohibition also comprised all foreigners, many, especially Dutch and Hamburg merchants, kept up the regular and comprehensive bartering which they had carried on for a number of years, and it was not until 1776, after the Government had taken over the Greenland trade as a State monopoly, that a Royal Statute was issued forbidding access to the colonized part of the west coast except in cases of emergency. Foreign vessels, particularly English whalers, however, continued to navigate the waters of Greenland until the time of the Great War, but their visits became more and more rare, and their conduct was generally irreproachable. In 1921 the prohibition

against navigation was extended so as to comprise the whole of Greenland; then again, in 1924, the whole of East Greenland was thrown open to vessels and partly to settlers, and finally in 1925, various harbours on West Greenland were opened under certain conditions (cf. further Gustav Rasmussen: *The Status of Greenland in International Law*).

There is no doubt that for the peaceful and quiet development of the Greenlanders the trade monopoly has so far been highly beneficial. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that little or nothing has been done with the deliberate view of preparing the population for the introduction of free trading conditions, and the criticism directed against the trade monopoly has, especially during the last generation, been steadily gaining weight. The chief arguments are that owing to the maintenance of this principle the Greenlanders possess very little commercial insight, only computing the value of their products by the prices fixed by the trading company, and that this unnatural level of prices has caused the economic life of the country to rest on a wrong basis. By keeping down the prices of native produce, the administration has debarred the population from the possibility of understanding the value of capital, while, furthermore, the actual producers have been prevented from securing a standard of life in accordance with their importance to the community. As it is now, the man who is a poor bread-winner has nearly the same chances, and leads the same kind of life as the man who possesses ability and enterprise, and the diligent worker has no possibility of obtaining the independence and wealth which are open to the freer Eskimos of North America.

Therefore, the question of the abolition of the trade monopoly and the introduction of free trade has been mooted time after time, and has also been a constant matter for discussion in the commissions which at intervals have been appointed by the Danish State with the object of considering the affairs of the Greenland trade, especially at those times when the income derived from the country has shown a tendency to decline.

As early as 1788 a commission was appointed with the object of working out plans for the opening up of trade, and it was followed, in 1835, by another commission, which was to report on the possibilities of abolishing the trade monopoly. A minority of the members of this commission set forth a proposal to the effect that an attempt should be made to lease the trade of some of the districts to private individuals with the exclusive right of carrying on trade in Greenland. The proposal, however, was not carried out, and a new commission, appointed in 1857, arrived at the conclusion that the trade monopoly should not be abolished for the present; that leasing could not be considered advisable, and that Greenland should be closed to private individuals as long as the monopoly lasted.

On the other hand, a new commission, formed in 1862 chiefly for financial reasons, advised the abolition of the monopoly and of leaving

trading to private individuals who might be supposed to pay the Greenlanders higher prices and yet be able to carry on trade with lower costs than the State, which for several years had done so at a sacrifice. It was admitted that this would involve certain drawbacks for the Greenlanders, but these disadvantages were supposed to be transitory, at any rate for the abler part of the population, and were therefore not considered a sufficient argument for keeping the whole country in a state of mental pupillage as it had been kept during the time of the monopoly. Further, the commission maintained that the whole administration of Greenland, which left much to be desired, should be made subject to drastic reforms, and so a new commission was appointed a few years afterwards. This commission, however, arrived at the conclusion that the trade monopoly could not be given up at once, and it was proposed, as a transition measure, that trading should be thrown open to private individuals as regards certain commodities. With a view to ascertaining whether the population was sufficiently mature to be given greater freedom, and how things would develop should this be the case, it was further proposed to make an attempt at free trade along the coast from lat. 61° to 67° N. for a period of five or ten years.

This proposal, which met with very sharp criticism on the part of Dr. Rink, was not carried into practice any more than the preceding ones, and although, as already mentioned, the question of alterations in the trading principles was discussed over and over in detail by all the commissions appointed during the last century, and several proposals were set forth, some extremely conservative, and others originating in circles which were more apt to consider reforms, no solution has as yet been arrived at.

Those who are in favour of the maintenance of the trade monopoly and the closing of the country, justify their view by commercial considerations, as well as by considerations of the health of the Greenlanders and the fatal consequences which might arise from free intercourse with strangers. On the other hand, the objection has been raised that even though it has been possible to prevent the use of alcohol among the Greenlanders, and even though diseases have not been so devastating there as among other primitive peoples, several very bad epidemics have made their way into the country, especially after the old sailing vessels were replaced by steamers, and nowadays most European diseases also appear in the yearly reports from Greenland.

In one respect at any rate, the closing of the country has been extremely detrimental to the development of the Greenlanders. For fear that they should not be able to hold their own in competition with foreigners, the administration has hitherto denied private individuals access to the country, for instance, as fishermen and sheep farmers, thus depriving the Greenlanders of the development which private initiative might stimulate.

Even now, it cannot be said that deliberate efforts have been made

towards preparing the ground for the abolition of the trade monopoly and the opening up of the country, and this in spite of the fact that the closing was never popular, and that it is constantly to be feared that the day may arrive when Denmark will be *forced* to open the country. With steadily growing strength the question presents itself as to whether it will be possible, in the long run, to keep the Eskimos isolated. As far as Alaska is concerned, the Americans deny that this can be done, and maintain that in any case it cannot benefit a people to be kept back, and so in their treatment of the Eskimos they have followed lines which are widely different from those followed in the Danish administration of Greenland. From a comparison with conditions in Alaska and Labrador, it appears how extremely conservative the Danish rule has been, and how very slow the progress and development of the Greenlanders.

It should, however, be borne in mind that in this respect the work done during the first hundred years after the colonization of Greenland cannot be taken into account, as the efforts of the early colonizers were almost entirely directed towards missionary work and trade profit. But although, as already suggested, the two characteristic features of the Danish policy regarding Greenland, *viz.* the trade monopoly and the closing of the country, have helped to preserve the customs and typical Eskimo occupations of the Greenlanders, the question now presents itself, with steadily growing strength: what are the requirements which must be demanded from the Greenland policy of the future with a view to the further development of the natives? And here the view is slowly beginning to make itself felt, that to keep the Greenlanders in a state of economic and intellectual pupillage is unworthy, no less of the Danish administration than of the native population, and that it is the duty of Denmark to help the Greenlanders towards reaching a higher state of development which in its turn may lead to the opening up of the country.

PRINCIPLES OF ADMINISTRATION.

The colonization of Greenland, begun by Hans Egede, in 1721, sprang entirely from his wish to convert the Eskimos to Christianity, and the sole object of associating it with a trading enterprise was to establish the necessary financial basis for the missionary work.

In itself it was not necessary to obtain political mastery over the population in order to carry out a trading enterprise, and this naturally, to a still greater degree, applies to the missionary work, but as has happened wherever Europeans have wanted to exploit foreign territory, the mission in Greenland in the course of time came to involve the virtual administration of the country.

No information is at hand as to whether Hans Egede had been given any instructions by the Danish Government as regards his relation to the

natives, and even though it seems rather improbable that this should have been the case, there is no doubt that in his dual capacity as the representative of the King and the guardian of the State Church, he considered himself justified in demanding absolute obedience without, on the other hand, feeling bound to respect the original social organization of the population. Thus it appears from his own reports that his attitude in this respect was not always correct, and that on several occasions sharp divergencies arose between him and the natives, whose mode of living was in many ways encroached upon by the work of civilization which had been started among them.

In 1728 the Danish Government determined to send out a Governor, who with a considerable force of officers and soldiers, should set up a fort at Nipisat, as the beginning of a comprehensive colonizing project. Further, a council was appointed consisting of all the Danish officials in the country, but this council was dissolved as early as 1731, the Governor was recalled, and for a long time there is no question of any administration in the proper sense of the word. Denmark governed—if this term can be at all used regarding the administration of Greenland—by means of the trade, and the employees of the trading companies practically formed the sole administrative organization in that country.

Until the passing, in 1905, of the Greenland Church and School Bill, the administration in Denmark was carried on through the agency of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, and without the intervention of Parliament. As far as the mission was concerned, Greenland was governed by statutes issued by the Ministry for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs, and for the other branches of administration by the Ministry of the Interior, and its special Greenland department, the "Directorate of the Royal Greenland Trade". It must be emphasized from the start that the Royal Greenland Trading Company or "Trade"—the exact character of which appears from the detailed description in the "History of the Trade and Colonization"—is not a private company carrying on trade on ordinary commercial principles, but a government board, and therefore the direction of the Greenland trade must rather be characterized as administrative trade in the interest of the native population.

In 1782, simultaneously with the issue of comprehensive instructions for the employees of the trading company, a new office, "Royal Inspector of Trade and Whaling" was founded for each of the two provinces, North and South Greenland. The object of this measure was, in the first place, the establishment of a much needed supervision of trading affairs, but the practical result was that the inspectors in every respect became the representatives of the highest administrative power in Greenland as well as, to a certain extent, its judiciary authorities.

However, even after 1782, the traders were invested with extensive

administrative and judicial authority, not only in relation to the officials of the trading company, but also to the native population generally. Of extreme importance in this connection were the rules contained in the instructions regarding the authority to administer punishment to the Greenlanders, according to which the traders were given the exclusive power over them, as well as the administration of the poor relief which was introduced by these instructions, and which in course of time came to exercise such a fatal influence on the native social organization.

That the Government did not consider the basis created by the instructions of 1782 a satisfactory one with regard to the native population appears, however, from a Royal Statute of 1798, requesting reports on what ought to be done in order to improve conditions in Greenland. While emphasizing the desirability of conveying a higher degree of civilization to the Greenlanders by establishing such institutions "by which they might gradually be made subject to the beneficial coercion of civilization," it mentions, as points which should first and foremost be taken into consideration, what laws the Greenlanders at their present stage were in need of and capable of receiving, and what means of coercion might be brought to bear upon them according to their national character, their habits, manner of thinking, and the organization of the judiciary and executive powers. It was thought possible with regard to this point, and particularly in the case of the grossest misdemeanours, to introduce the practice that one or more of the most sensible, moral, and generally respected Greenlanders should take part in the proceedings.

It is extremely noteworthy that, already at that time, proposals were made for such radical and drastic reforms in the administration of Greenland, and in consequence of this statute the first step was made towards the collection of valuable and extensive statistical data on matters relating to commerce and production, as well as detailed descriptions of the trading districts and facts relating to the population.

But although the ideas set forth in the statute were certainly based upon a correct view of social conditions, more than half a century elapsed before an attempt was made to practise these ideas.

That the time was hardly ripe for the carrying out of such administrative measures appears, however, from the reports dealing with these questions. On the strength of these it is maintained that if an attempt were made to practise Danish laws on a Greenlanders, even in case of serious crimes, his countrymen would certainly take his part and defend him, while the friendly relations between the Danes and the Greenlanders would be disturbed if an attempt were made to enforce special laws and institutions upon the natives, the necessity and expediency of which they themselves were unable to realize. From such views, as well as from the few law suits of the period,

it clearly appears how precarious the position of the administration was from a judiciary point of view, and how powerless it really was against the Greenlanders with its small number of officials.

This was the state of affairs when, at the beginning of the 19th century, the European wars began to put serious obstacles in the way of the Greenland trade, and conditions were made still worse by certain inadequate dispositions on the part of the trading company. It became evident that in its dual capacity, *viz.* partly as an administrative body, the object of which was to procure the advancement of the natives, and partly as a purely mercantile enterprise with a view to deriving the greatest possible profit from the trade with the natives, the administration had gradually come to attach a completely one-sided weight to the latter object. The original sense of proprietorship had been entirely disturbed by the system of exchange of commodities, introduced by the permanent colonists, which made it possible for the hunter to dispose of the greater part of his products without any compensation to his countrymen, thus depriving them of the benefits attached to the original community. In the same manner the Danish administration also gradually employed a considerable proportion of the natives, who were thus cut off from their national occupations, whereas, on the other hand, they would frequently continue to be a burden to the community at large and profit by the charity of the hunters. Furthermore, the officials of the trading company derived part of their wages from percentages on the trade with the Greenlanders, so as to be personally interested in the amount of trade done, and this of course also applied to the management in Denmark. Especially after 1830, great efforts were made to increase the output of the trade, partly by the founding of more trading posts, and partly by the importation of commodities which must be considered articles of luxury for the native population. Whereas formerly great care had been taken not to import these more or less unnecessary articles, the restrictions to which, for instance, European provisions had been submitted were entirely done away with about this period, while at the same time the prices of blubber and skins were raised more than once. The object of this measure was to enable the Greenlanders to limit themselves to the disposal of smaller quantities of these articles, which were so essential to their domestic economy, but it soon proved to have the opposite effect. The trade in European provisions, and especially coffee, assumed overwhelming proportions, and the attempt to limit it failed entirely, as the demand of the Greenlanders for these luxuries had become so strong that the greater part of the profit from their trade was spent in acquiring them.

For these and other reasons, mentioned in detail under "Social Conditions," the state of Greenland in the course of the early half of the 19th century had gradually developed from bad to worse, and about the middle

of the century it was realized on all sides that something must be done in order to save the country from further decay.

According to the opinion of Dr. Rink, then inspector of South Greenland, and other officials in Greenland, the original social organization had not been adapted to conditions under the Danish administration, and therefore an attempt was now made to supply the want of a real administrative system by means of the so-called boards of guardians.

The underlying idea was to create an institution in which the Greenlanders themselves were to act as a local administrative body in collaboration with the Danish officials, the object being to provide help for those who were unable to support themselves, to see to the maintenance of order and to try to establish a judicial system for the Greenland community, as it had developed in the course of the colonization.

As to the composition and activity of the boards of guardians the reader is referred to the chapter on "Social Conditions." Here it may be mentioned that these boards are the first real attempt made on the part of the Danish authorities to systematize the social order of Greenland, and to introduce a real municipal government, the management of the affairs of the district being now entrusted to them under the guidance of the inspectors and the direction of the Ministry of the Interior.

In the course of years this typically Greenlandic institution must indeed, to a certain extent, be said to have attained the end, which Dr. Rink had set out to accomplish. Notwithstanding the difficulties, which, especially during the first years, attended the participation of the Greenlanders, and the fact that the initiative of the Danish members frequently became a decisive factor in the resolutions taken, the boards of guardians have certainly been the means of developing the Greenlanders to work for the interests of the community, and of teaching them the first principles of administration. For the collaboration between Danes and Greenlanders their importance has been very great, and in this connection it must be emphasized that the relations between the Danish and the Greenland part of the administration have upon the whole been very peaceful and have rarely given rise to conflicts between the native and the Danish officials. On the other hand, this cannot be regarded as a proof of unqualified satisfaction with the Danish Government. The principles of administration have frequently been very sharply criticized among the Greenlanders themselves, and though as a people they are surprisingly peaceable and easy to manage and, furthermore, have only come into touch with the white man in his capacity as the official to whose decisions they must submit without protest, this criticism of later years has occasionally found its way to the Greenland papers, besides being expressed in official statements by the members of the provincial councils, and in a certain independence towards the Danish chairmen of these institutions.

For that matter it cannot be denied that the present system of administration has yielded matter for conflict. Time after time it has been proved that the Greenlanders would necessarily be the losers, when their interests and those of the trading company, as frequently happened, came to be opposed, whereas the inspector was in the difficult position of having to satisfy both parties, and the Copenhagen administration was bound to pay special attention to the economic side of the matter, in order not to incur losses on the Greenland trade. We are here confronted with the most remarkable feature of the Danish government of Greenland, the mixture, hardly to be found anywhere else, of trading interests and State administration, which is carried to such extremes that not only do the affairs of trade and administration alike belong to the same department in Denmark, but that in Greenland itself both functions are discharged by the same officials. Even though the problem derives its peculiar character from the fact that in theory, at any rate, the monopolized trade carried on by the Danish State has no connection with ordinary commercial principles and must rather be characterized as administrative commerce in the interests of the population, the system in practice has frequently involved the greatest difficulties. The question of the abandonment of this mixture of functions has been raised time after time, and has also been discussed in detail by the various Greenland commissions, for instance the commission which was appointed in 1840, with a view to improving the conditions of the Greenlanders, and which advised that proposals for reforms should be dealt with by a permanent Greenland Commission, which was to act independently of the trade administration and was to consist of specially appointed experts. On the other hand, a later commission which sent in its report in 1852, arrived at the conclusion that no attempt should be made to separate trade and administration, as the various authorities might then easily counteract each other, and it was further supposed that at the present state of development there would not be sufficient work for such specially appointed magistrates.

Nevertheless, in 1863, the Government informed the commission then appointed that such a division was intended in Denmark as well as in Greenland, but this proposal was not carried into effect.

When Rink became the director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, in 1871, he set to work to bring about a separation of administration and trade. As a first step in this direction a commission was appointed which in all matters of administration was to serve as an intermediary between the Ministry of the Interior and the Greenlanders, but Rink's plans were counteracted by the Ministry, and this at last led to an open rupture which ended in his withdrawal from office. The permanent commission was dissolved by his successor, who was a decided opponent of the separation between administration and trade. The idea of a similar commission to that effect was renewed when, before the passing of the last Greenland Bill of

1925, proposals for the re-introduction of a commission of Greenland experts were set forth. However, the law, in its final form, did not contain any such clause, but only introduced a permanent *political* committee for the supervision of the administration of Greenland, consisting of members of the Danish Parliament.

From the time of the establishment of the boards of guardians there were no essential alterations in the administration of Greenland until the above-mentioned School and Church Act of 1905, which will be referred to here, because it introduces a form of supervision of the clergy of Greenland, the so-called "arch-deaconries" (see "The Church of Greenland"), and also clerical conventions for dealing with ecclesiastical and educational matters.

As mentioned in "Social Conditions" the administration of Greenland was made the subject of very sharp criticism from without about 1904, chiefly owing to the agitation of the author Mylius Erichsen. This criticism in connection with the fact that the Greenland trade had for a number of years been carried on at a very considerable sacrifice led to a demand for a mercantile administration of trade affairs. It was maintained that the principles hitherto followed, which to outsiders must seem entirely out of date, were detrimental to the Greenlanders from a social as well as from a mercantile point of view, and finally the demand for a separation of trade and administration was again set forth in a very forcible manner; in consequence, the whole question was subjected to a detailed discussion, resulting in the passing of a bill on the administration of Greenland, the Act of 1908.

For the Greenlanders this law derived its chief importance from the new regulations in municipal and judicial administration which will be dealt with in detail under "Social Conditions." Its chief importance for the government of Greenland was that the separation between trade and administration, which had so often been proposed, was now established by law and was to be carried into practice. Whereas formerly the choice of the official, who as the director of Greenland must attend to the many and very different questions regarding the remote colony, had hitherto been determined by his knowledge of the special conditions of Greenland, and by administrative rather than by especially mercantile qualifications, the Act of 1908, in the interests of the Greenlanders no less than of the Danish State generally, acknowledged the necessity of introducing a purely mercantile element into the administration. It also suggested the advisability of subjecting all trade affairs to a special management, with the only reservation that the administration, whose chief object is to attend to the interests of the Greenlanders, should be able to intervene in case the mercantile considerations involved detrimental consequences for them. According to this law the inspectors in Greenland itself were to be exempt from the duty which had hitherto been incumbent upon them, *viz.* of superintending the affairs of trade, and this would do away with their dual position as inspectors of trade and admin-

istrative officials, so that in the future they would be free to attend exclusively to the interests of the Greenlanders.

In various quarters the greatest importance was attached to this separation of trade and administration, and the institution of an independent "unmixed" administration, but the law had hardly been carried into practice, while the separation had not even become an established fact, when it proved imperative—partly for political considerations—to subject the Greenland question to renewed discussions in Parliament. It was now maintained that the trade and administration *in Greenland* were indissolubly bound up with each other: that a separation of the two functions was practically impossible, and that it must be regarded as advisable for these matters to be managed by the same persons.

As regards the administration *in Denmark*, it was certainly desired to retain the arrangement by which the sale of Greenland produce should be carried on in accordance with mercantile principles, but on the other hand, it was asserted that the arrangement of 1908 which made the administrative director and the commercial director co-ordinate posts, had already proved impracticable. The economic side of the Greenland trade was undoubtedly of extreme importance, but the principles to be followed, in trade and administration alike, must, nevertheless, first and foremost be determined by considerations for the welfare of the population, and as the head of the trade department would necessarily regard it as his chief aim to reduce expenses and increase the profits derived from the trade, it was unavoidable that his views would frequently clash with those of the administrative organ. Therefore, the position of the head of the trade department underwent a change, in that he was subordinated to the administrative director and was rather to be considered as his commercial adviser.

In the course of the discussions on the bill it was, further, maintained that a number of the drawbacks attaching to the hitherto prevailing administration of Greenland might presumably be avoided by bringing about a greater harmony in the government in Denmark where, on the one hand, trade and administration, on the other, church and school matters had acted as entirely independent factors without any mutual connection, being subjected to two different state organs, *viz.* the Ministry of the Interior, and the Ministry for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs. According to the arrangement introduced by the Act of 1912, which was in the main retained by that of 1925, the administration of Greenland takes place through the following agencies:

In Denmark (Copenhagen) the administration is centred in the *Government for Greenland* which must be considered as being a special department of the Ministry of the Interior, and at the head of which there is a director. All affairs relating to the administration of Greenland are subject to this department—trade, sanitation, church and schools—the two latter,

however, being in the last instance subject to the Ministry for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs. Under the director there is a manager of the trade department, who arranges for the sale of merchandise exported from Greenland and the purchase of commodities to be sent there. Into this administration at Copenhagen the Act of 1925 further introduces a special feature, *viz.* the above-mentioned political commission for Greenland affairs, which is appointed by Parliament from among its own members, for the purpose of reporting on all matters of general importance to Greenland.

Greenland itself is now divided into three parts or provinces: South Greenland from Cape Farewell to North Ström Fiord, North Greenland from North Ström Fiord to North-east Foreland, and East Greenland comprising the country from North-east Foreland to Cape Farewell. For ecclesiastical purposes South Greenland and the part of North Greenland situated south of lat. 75° N. is divided into parishes, while for administrative purposes each province is partly divided into medical districts, and partly into counties ("Sysler"), districts, and municipalities. The number and scope of these institutions are, however, not yet fixed in accordance with the Act of 1925.

The highest official of each of the provinces of North and South Greenland, is the "Landsfoged" or chief administrator, whose duties are the same as those of the former inspectors, and whose office, besides being administrative and judiciary, consists in the supervision of public health, the affairs of trade, and the officials appointed by these two departments. The officials directly under the "Landsfoged" are the "Sysselmænd", who act as the deputies of the "Landsfoged" in the counties, as chairmen of the district councils, and as the administrators of justice in all actions brought against people under the Greenland law. By the acts of 1908 and 1925 a distinction has been made between persons coming under the Greenland and those coming under the Danish laws, as it has not been thought possible to use the same regulations and the same prosecutions against all individuals in Greenland, so an attempt has been made to establish special regulations for those belonging to the Greenland community.

For the two provinces, North and South Greenland, there is an archdeacon, who is the highest local authority in all ecclesiastical and educational matters, being at the same time the head of the Greenland clergy and, in ecclesiastical matters, the intermediary between them and the authorities in Denmark. The archdeacon has his domicile in South Greenland, whereas North Greenland is supervised by a deputy archdeacon. Educational matters, according to the Act of 1925, will come partly under a specially appointed school-inspector, and partly under the education committees of the various districts.

As to the administration of East Greenland and the part of North Greenland situated north of lat. 75° N., the Cape York District, it is stipulated by the Act of 1925 that these districts are to be administered

according to regulations laid down by the Ministry of the Interior. In the following will be given some details relating to the administration of these districts.

Angmagssalik.

In the Angmagssalik District on the east coast there is a population of about 650 persons, distributed in seven groups over some sixty dwelling places lying between lat. 65° and 67° N.

The East Greenlanders, to a far greater degree than the West Greenlanders, bear the impress of the original Eskimo culture, as they were not in communication with Europeans until the end of the 19th century, the trading and missionary station at Angmagssalik having only been founded in 1894.

At the head of the trading station there is a trader or manager, who is directly under the administration in Denmark, while his position, owing to the extremely isolated situation, is much more independent than the corresponding positions on the west coast. The native products bought are merely bearskins, foxskins and sealskins, and in former times the trade in imported commodities was limited to the barest necessities, principally shooting perquisites, hardware and dry goods, but of later years it has been extended so as to cover almost the same articles as in West Greenland, with the exception of coffee and actual luxuries.

The total amount of trade done here is negligible, the most important native products being bearskins with a yearly average of 80 to 100. All in all, the value of the native produce sold amounts to about 25,000 kr. a year, and the value of imported goods is estimated at about 15,000 kr. Conditions along the east coast are pretty hard, nor are the natural possibilities of the country sufficiently exploited, partly because the East Greenlanders are much less proficient as regards their various occupations than the West Greenlanders, and partly because they are unable to procure the necessary implements, the amounts which they are able to obtain for the sale of skins to the trading company being extremely small. The total yearly income can thus hardly be estimated at more than 20 to 25 kr. per individual. When the natives suffer want, they may apply for assistance to the trader, who is authorized to grant supplies from the Government funds. All administrative functions rest with the trader and the clergyman, and there is no project of any municipal self-government of the type found in West Greenland.

Scoresby Sound.

The settlement of Scoresby Sound was established in 1825 by transferring Eskimos from Angmagssalik and some few from the west coast. There is now a population of about 90 souls, distributed over some few dwelling places at the mouth of Scoresby Sound.

The administration is like that of Angmagssalik.

As the colony is only three years old, it is too early to give details concerning the total amount of trade.

The Cape York District.

The Eskimos north of Melville Bay have had occasional contact with civilization for about a century, partly through the English whalers, who regularly visited these hunting grounds, and partly through the numerous English and American expeditions to these parts. The elements of culture received by the Eskimos through these various channels were, however, surprisingly small, and until the time of the expeditions of Peary, they were still at a perfectly primitive stage and only to a very small extent provided with articles bearing the impress of civilization. A complete change was effected by the long and repeated stays of the Peary expeditions in this district. In the course of a few years the population developed its occupations, implements, and technical skill, in a manner quite unique, passing, as it were at a bound, from the Stone Age to the most modern resources of the present day, and thus becoming dependent upon imported articles, which they could no longer do without.

It was a very natural proceeding for Denmark to attempt to extend its field of activity in Greenland, so as also to include the Polar Eskimos. The first step in this direction was the Danish Literary Expedition, which in 1903 traversed the Cape York District in sledges from Upernivik, thus rediscovering the old "great sledge-route" (Qimugseriarssuaq). In 1905 one of the vessels of the Royal Greenland Trading Company was sent up to Cape York with the object of investigating conditions, and a few years afterwards a missionary station was established at Thule (North Star Bay), in connection with a small trading post. International considerations placed difficulties in the way of introducing at that time the same administration, with a monopoly of trade and state control, which the Danish Government had introduced into West Greenland, and as, further, the separation of mission and trade was for other reasons considered expedient, the Polar explorer Knud Rasmussen founded the private trading station "Thule" in 1910. His object was to safeguard the district against being exploited by other nations, and to make it a connecting link between the Polar Eskimos and civilization by disposing of the surplus of their native produce, and in return supplying them with the foreign commodities which had gradually become so indispensable to them, particularly shooting perquisites, wood and tools. The affairs of the station are administered by a commercial committee at Copenhagen, and there is a direct service from Denmark. After the inclusion of the whole of Greenland under the suzerainty of Denmark (1921) it is presumably only a question of time for the Government to take over the station, but up to the present there is no representative of the

Danish State in the Cape York District. The population stands entirely outside the European as well as the Greenland laws, and as in East Greenland, no attempt has been made to introduce a social organization corresponding with that of South-west Greenland.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Any attempt at colonization, particularly among a primitive people like the Eskimos, will always greatly encroach upon their liberty, their mode of living and social organization. Nevertheless, the life of the Greenlanders for a long period after the beginning of colonization, as a matter of fact even as late as the middle of last century, was almost exclusively based on their original common Eskimo social organization, without any intervention on the part of Denmark by the introduction of new laws or regulations.

The nature of this social order has been described, more or less in detail, by earlier authors (particularly Lars Dalager), these descriptions briefly embodying the following:

THE ORIGINAL ESKIMO COMMUNITY.

The basis of the whole social order was the *family*. The Greenlanders most frequently went to other dwelling places for their wives and looked askance at marriages between closely related individuals; thus marriage between cousins was not permitted, and not even between children brought up together.

The marriage itself was unattended by special ceremonies, and frequently the bridegroom almost resorted to force; even when the bride was perfectly willing, common decency demanded that she should behave as if she acted under compulsion and was disinclined to accept her suitor. The position of the wife was subordinate, often not much better than that of a servant, and when she was childless, her state was especially deplorable; for as it was extremely important to have boys who could be brought up to be bread-winners, this very frequently led to the man taking a second wife. As a rule, this caused no jealousy among the women, who got on well together, the first wife being "always the most respected and the actual mistress of the household, even if she is not the most beloved" (Egede Saabye's diary). The fact that a man was able to keep more than one wife, was partly considered a proof of his wealth and ability; still, it never was particularly common, though it occurred in the colonized districts of the west coast as late as the end of the 18th century, and at Cape York and Angmagssalik until the beginning of the mission.¹

¹ In the statistical report based upon the census taken in Greenland in 1911, it is said that polygamy does not exist any longer at Angmagssalik, whereas according to the last census taken (in 1901) there were three men who had two wives each, and five women were classed as divorced i. e. repudiated, whereas there was no mention of divorced men.

Divorce was by no means uncommon, especially when there were no children, and the mode of dissolving a marriage was as informal as the manner in which it was contracted: the man simply withdrew from his wife without speaking to her, whereupon she took the hint and left his house. If there were children, and particularly boys, the parents rarely separated, as the father then lost his right to the children, who followed the mother. A temporary exchange of wives might take place, for instance when a man went on hunting expeditions and his wife was prevented from accompanying him. In the great communal houses the exchange of wives was quite common, especially when the game called the "extinction of lamps" was played, this game being attended by gross sexual excesses.

In the relations between the individual members of the family the father possessed absolute authority and decided all matters relating to the household; if he was commonly respected, he might further assume a certain authority over his neighbours, in which case he was called *pimaq* or *nakuak* and made decisions relating to their occupations and social organization.¹

The family was entirely subject to the discipline of the father of the house, although it was and is very rare that a man chastises his wife, while the children also were and are brought up without any kind of force or punishment. In spite of that it is striking how well-behaved the average Greenland child is, and this points to a peaceable, good-natured disposition, which also appears from the fact that it is extremely rare to see Greenlanders lose their temper or come to blows.

On the other hand, the hard conditions under which the Greenlanders lived made them merciless in their dealings with those who were unfit for this strenuous existence; thus old and delicate persons were never sure of their lives, for which reason they sometimes settled the matter by throwing themselves down from rocks or into the sea. Deformed or delicate children were killed at birth, as well as infants if the mother died; presumably it was a more or less established rule that all girls were killed, which in the Cape York District, for instance, led to an excess of males; now, however, since the influence of Christianity has begun to make itself felt, an approximate balance has been brought about in the number of the two sexes. Further, insane individuals were always killed, as the Greenlanders have a special horror for mental derangement and regard the person thus afflicted as being possessed by devils. Even within quite recent years several cases have occurred on the west coast, where Greenlanders, who would otherwise be called enlightened and sensible, have attempted to kill insane people.

The relation between the members of the same dwelling place was characterized by the prevailing communism, which set very narrow limits to the proprietorship of the individual. It is true that the position of the individual

¹ As contrasted with conditions among the Central Eskimos (Boas p. 581) the decisions of such a man must be obeyed; if anyone refused to do so, he was punished.

seemed much freer than among most people, but, as a matter of fact, he was bound by numerous considerations and rules which were the immediate result of the peculiar economic life, and closely connected with all the old customs and religious ideas. Thus, a man was only permitted to take up his abode in a dwelling place when the inhabitants gave their consent. It was the duty of every man towards the other members of the dwelling place to catch as much as he possibly could, and according to definite rules his catch became common property, at any rate within the household, but frequently also within the whole dwelling place. Not only did the men assemble in a tent or a house for the common Eskimo gorging feasts, to which everyone brought part of his catch, the meal being prepared and eaten in common; but the hunters further distributed a raw portion to every family that had not caught anything. If there was seal or game in abundance, or it could not be eaten at once, the remainder was laid by for winter provisions, but in times of scarcity it was the duty of those who still had provisions to help those who suffered want, and when provisions gave out entirely, they all starved together. Regarding this mutual helpfulness Hans Egede says ("Perlustration" p. 70): "They are generally very fond of their food and willing to entertain each other, and what is highly to be admired and praiseworthy, they have most things in common— — never let anyone starve, in which they confound us Christians."

In everything pertaining to hunting and fishing an infinite number of the most detailed rules prevailed. Many of these still hold good, although they are partly modified, such as the regulations for the division of large sea animals and the access to certain hunting grounds. As to the proprietorship of wounded animals which have escaped, the rule obtains that, if the pursuit is abandoned, such an animal belongs to the finder, or the person who kills it, but if a harpoon or dart is in the animal, the owner may claim to have this returned to him.

The person who lends a hunting implement is entitled to as much as half of the catch, but in return he must bear the loss if the implement lent is spoilt or lost.

If a man has lost a thing and abandons the search for it, it belongs to the finder, although the owner is known; this also applies to a gun even if it is lost on the common sledging route.

Formerly, if a man repented of a deal he had made, he might demand that it should be annulled, a curious rule which is still said to apply to transactions between the Moravian mission stores and the Eskimos of Labrador.

As a characteristic example of the old rules it may further be mentioned that if, during the flensing of a whale, a man wounded another man, which might easily happen, it was to be considered an accident, but in order to prompt people to take care it was further regulated that the offender should leave the whale at once, and he was not permitted to take part in the flens-

ing. "Superstition has lent its full weight to this custom in the belief that if the person who has wounded the other continues his flensing, the blood shall not be staunched nor the wound healed" (H. C. Glahn's diary, 1767).

This complete community of goods naturally also influenced the rules regarding property and inheritance. Actual proprietorship only applied to clothes, kayaks, and sealing and hunting implements, and even then it was a rule that if the person in question had more than was strictly necessary, for instance, two kayaks, he could not refuse to lend what he himself had no use for; if the object lent was lost, it was a common rule that the borrower was *not* bound to make good the loss. The house was considered the common property of the family or those dwelling in it, whereas umiaq, tent, dogs and sledges belonged to the father of the house, and after his death were inherited by the eldest son or fosterson, if he was a bread-winner. Only relatives who had no independent household shared in the inheritance.

In everything *relating to the dwelling place* decisions were made by the *angákoq*, and those who would not submit to his decision had to go away and settle elsewhere. The *angákoqs*, who must be looked upon as a kind of authority, receive very varied treatment at the hands of the earlier writers; they are often severely judged, particularly by the first missionaries, though on the other hand it is also maintained that there were wise and highly respected men among them; men who had great experience of human nature and everything pertaining thereto, as well as of the laws of nature, climate, and fishing and hunting conditions.

The "administration of justice" took place at public assemblies in the form of drum dances, which still occur sporadically at Angmagssalik and Cape York. The case might be one of infringement of individual proprietorship, or insults to persons in the household of the offended party, or it might relate to the whole of the community, as negligence and laziness when fishing and hunting. The offended party summons his opponent and often for many hours beforehand practises the satirical songs, with which to attack him at the sessions. The latter, on the other hand, answers back as well as he can, and thus they continue to "sing against each other" as long as they are able to do so. The process is frequently not ended with one session, but is continued for some time. In these songs the ridiculous qualities of the offender or his family are emphasized, their faults and vices, and if the singer lacks material he resorts to making his adversary commit fictitious crimes. These attacks may become utterly reckless in the mouths of malicious persons: thus Holm (Med. o. G. XXXIX) as well as Kruuse (Med. o. G. XLIX) mention the strong impression made, both on the person concerned and on the audience, by accusations of cannibalism. He, who in the eyes of the audience had made the poorest show, had lost his cause and went away shamed.

A wider sphere than that of the dwelling place was beyond the conception

of the original Eskimos. To them all strangers were enemies, and the distrust and lack of confidence with which they met the unknown person who approached their communities appears clearly from all the old tales. The basis of the existence of the Eskimos was the extensive hunting grounds, the use of which might give rise to quarrels with their immediate neighbours. Social feeling as such did not exist among the Eskimos, who developed into strong and independent *units* with a strain of wilfulness, which even now may often make it difficult for them to subordinate themselves to the claims and interests of a larger community.

That an institution so primitive as the drum dances, termed by Dalager the "only forum for upholding the Greenland state," has really been sufficient to maintain social order is first and foremost due to the low percentage of crime among the Greenlanders. In this respect there is a striking contrast between them and the other Eskimo tribes, and this is already emphasized by the earlier authors, who are rather surprised at their lack of viciousness as compared with other nations. A contributory cause was, further, their inordinate fear of incurring the ridicule and reproof of others, and so the possibility of being challenged to a singing contest and made the butt of public derision proved a serious exhortation for them to lead decent moral lives and to keep peace with one another. On account of the great importance which sharing in the common life had for them, social expulsion was felt to be a very serious punishment, indeed, it almost amounted to being declared an outlaw. The characteristic feature of this "administration of justice" is that the community is not at all concerned in *justice* being done, but simply in allowing the opponents to find vent for their feelings that peace may once more be established at the dwelling place.

Only cases relating to sorcery and blood-vengeance were not decided by means of drum dances. Blood-vengeance, which was the duty of the whole family, and in which all the neighbours took part, occurred on the west coast as late as about 1800, and at Cape York and Angmagssalik less than a generation ago. The killing of witches or sorcerers (*ilisitsut*) was considered an act of justice on the part of the community and was as a rule executed on the accusation of *angákoqs*, who suggested to the population that *ilisitsut* were able to kill men by their witchcraft, "and inasmuch as the *ilisitsut* frequently, of their own accord, confess that they can do such things and persuade their countrymen that they actually do them, they are themselves largely to blame for the hard treatment they receive, being also responsible for the fact that it will be very hard to exterminate even this superstition from the hearts of the Christian Greenlanders" (Glahn: Anmærkninger p. 331).

THE ESKIMO COMMUNITY UNDER DANISH ADMINISTRATION.

It must have been very difficult for Hans Egede and the first colonizers generally to realize that the primitive institutions of the Eskimos, so entirely deviating from European rules, constituted a social order which was throughout consistent and eminently adapted to them. Further, they were of opinion that the original customs were immediately connected with the worship and religious ceremonies of the Greenlanders and therefore strove to exterminate them as heathenish practices and superstitions, and that this view was shared by the Government appears from a Royal Statute of 1746, which decreed that the Greenlanders should break away from the *angákoqs*.

During the first fifty years after the coming of Egede, neither the spiritual nor the temporal authorities fully realized the harm done to the social order of the Eskimos by the colonization; the position of the Danish officials was very weak; there was a complete lack of collaboration between mission and trade, while a mutual spirit of discord and intolerance almost constantly prevailed between the officials of both, and the administration in Denmark was utterly unable to bring about ordered conditions, much less to carry out reforms.

Not until the Government had once more taken over the trade with Greenland in 1774, was the administration of that country reduced to more fixed rules, nor until after comprehensive instructions had been issued in 1782 relating to the duties and position of the Europeans residing in the country. At the same time West Greenland, from an administrative point of view, was divided into two parts or provinces, North and South Greenland, each with their own inspectors, and these newly appointed officials were invested with rather far reaching administrative authority, also according to detailed instructions.

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF 1782.

The importance of the new instructions must chiefly be looked for in a better arrangement of trade conditions and a greatly needed control of the Danish officials, but they also contain rules directly aiming at the living conditions of the native population, as to which a number of new regulations are added.

After a general statement to the effect that all Europeans in the country should show consideration and gentleness in their dealings with the Greenlanders, and take care that the latter suffered no injustice or injury, there is the following regulation as regards the maintenance of justice:

“If any Greenlander should be found guilty of unseemly behaviour such as theft or other gross misdemeanour, the trading agent, as gently as possible, should make him desist therefrom. If this avail not or the offence be

"particularly gross, he will be punished according to circumstances and the nature of the crime."

This regulation which for a long time practically remained the only "penal code" of Greenland, thus invested the trader or agent with complete jurisdiction over the native population, and as the whole administration in Greenland at that time took place through the medium of the trader, he was given very great authority over the population, because so much had been left to his discretion. This naturally might have a bad effect on both sides, and it frequently led to mere arbitrariness, particularly in the olden times, when the trade officials were not always able and conscientious men.

As to the occupations of the Greenlanders, there is a passage in § 3, which is characteristic of the view prevailing in those days: "If in spring and summer, until they moved into their winter houses, the Greenlanders used their time for the important catching of seal and caplin, as well as for useful fishing generally, instead of going reindeer hunting, roaming about the islands for eggs, or lying at the trout rivers to eat their catch on the spot; if they carefully gathered provisions, meat and fish, to be used during the coming long winter, and then, without waste, kept what had been gathered for times of scarcity; if during the winter they carried on sealing in the proper and most profitable manner, as well as made use of seal nets in places where they can be used, and where sometimes, everything else failing, they make good catches; if they procured what was necessary for the carrying out of their trade and securing their economic requirements, instead of acquiring, through barter, less necessary or superfluous things, etc., then their need and distress would never reach such depths as it frequently does in the winter."

Further, rules are given for fishing, whaling and fox-trapping, but special weight is attached to sealing. In themselves these rules are quite sensible, but they are based upon the perfectly erroneous presupposition that the trader would be able to engage the population in the pursuit which was considered the most profitable by the trading company. Thus, though these rules sprang from a feeling which was perfectly correct from an administrative point of view, *viz.* that the Greenlanders' manner of living was irregular as well as unthrifty, still far too great importance was attached to the encouragement given by the trader to engage in fishing and sealing, and no attempt was made at realizing that any efforts to make the Greenlanders more addicted to permanent dwellings etc. must be in direct opposition to their nature and interests.

The arrangement made, in 1782, for *the relief of the poor* was of the greatest importance to the social organization of the Greenlanders. In this respect § 5 of the instructions contains the following rules:

"When the destitution of the inhabitants becomes so urgent as to call for assistance, those European articles of food which are permitted in Green-

land, as for instance stock-fish, coarse ship's biscuits, and grey pease, should be administered in a sensible and economical manner to those distressed, in proportion to the more or less pressing need of each individual household. Should a general miscarriage of hunting recur, resulting in protracted starvation (as God forbid) so as to necessitate relief on a very large scale, an attempt must be made to alleviate, to the greatest possible extent, the distress of the population by means of Danish provisions, as far as the very poorest are concerned gratuitously, whereas the others should pay with Greenland products, when hunting and fishing start afresh."

In accordance with these regulations the trading company had officially taken over the relief of the poor and the defraying of the accruing expenses, the whole of the actual administration being left to the traders. However, not many years passed before the relief of the poor again, to a certain extent, came to rest upon the Greenland community by the establishment of the so-called relief funds, the object of which was "to retain for the Greenlanders, as the bad householders they were, the capital saved up in periods when there was abundance (particularly of whale and white whale)." From the beginning of the 19th century not merely the relief of the poor in times of scarcity, but also supports towards acquiring hunting implements, and various expenses towards midwives and physicians were defrayed from these funds. However, apart from the relief funds there was further the arrangement that the Greenlanders when they declared themselves to be in distress were allowed to "buy on credit," so that the natives themselves were able to decide whether what they received should be considered a loan or relief, and as they are extremely improvident and careless by nature, the consequences of this clause in the course of years necessarily became extremely awkward.

As regards economic conditions in Greenland, it should be borne in mind that money or any medium of currency was entirely unknown in Greenland until after 1800. Trading consequently had to take place by means of barter or by entering the amounts due to the Greenlanders into the books of the trading company, but as the natives were rarely willing to leave such amounts for any length of time, and preferred to spend all their earnings on things which they did not require, they were obliged, within a very short period, to borrow for ammunition and other necessities; then, if hunting and fishing failed, they all starved together, and, owing to the state of community, the most enterprising and diligent hunters fared no better than those who constantly lived at the expense of others.

It was suggested that the only way to remedy this would be to correct the native ideas of proprietorship in conformity with the European conception, thus teaching the thrifty to practise economy, "so that they would wish to be rich and egoistical and to desist from the old ideas of community and hospitality" (inspector Bendeke's report to the directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company in 1803).

From the very first days of the colonization, mission and trade alike had endeavoured to concentrate the population round the trading and missionary stations, and this to a much greater extent than was compatible with their occupations. It is true that if the Greenlanders roamed about during the whole of the summer for the purpose of hunting or fishing, it put great obstacles in the way of the advancement of the mission. Also from the point of view of the trading company, it would be more profitable if the Greenlanders remained in the same places and produced the greatest possible amount of blubber, or took part in the whaling carried on by the Europeans, but only few had shown such a wide outlook (as for instance Glahn in his diary of 1767) as to realize that it might also lead to unfortunate results if the population was too much isolated in its own dwelling places. The intercourse with more distant parts would create new impulses and prevent intermarrying; further, they might in that way acquire products which did not occur in their native districts (soapstone, walrus-tusks, kayak-skins, fish), while the frequent movings gave access to new hunting grounds, and the free and healthy life in tents during the summer would act as a stimulant after the isolation in winter, and would be very beneficial from a hygienic point of view, as the winter houses were then properly aired by the removal of windows and doors.

In the course of time the fatal consequences of this concentration, together with the increasing tendency to spend the greater part of the proceeds of the national trade on what must, for a Greenlander, be considered as articles of luxury, led to a state of impoverishment. Conditions grew still worse when, about the middle of the 19th century, there was a very serious failure of the seal fishery for several years which caused great misery in many dwelling places and, particularly in the fifties, led to numerous deaths from starvation and cold. Thus according to the census taken in South Greenland (1858), the population had decreased by 8.2 per cent within a period of five years, while at the same time the number of sealers had decreased by 10—11 per cent and that of the owners of umiaqs by 21 per cent; in the same period (1854—59) there were 1413 deaths as against 957 births.

According to various contemporary reports the population was reduced to a very deplorable state as the result of all this. Tents and umiaqs decayed, and the natives did not even have the necessary clothes and bedding. Summer journeys and tent life gradually ceased; no provisions were collected: the profits from sealing dwindled, being at last insufficient to provide the Greenlanders themselves with the necessary skins; even the number of winter dwellings decreased, and those still existing fell into decay, as failing blubber for heating purposes, the woodwork was used as fuel. The state of distress was greatest at the dwelling places of the Moravian Brethren, where the people lived in complete dependency and too great concentration.

being crowded together in miserable, tumble-down earthen huts and mostly deriving a precarious living from fishing.

In order to remedy this state of affairs the directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company renewed the injunction that the traders should assist the population in emergencies, partly with actual gifts, and partly with loans, and with the object of improving the accommodation of the Greenlanders timber houses were manufactured in Denmark and sent up to be sold to the natives, who were to pay for them by instalments. These measures, however, proved quite insufficient, and it was to be feared that the whole of the native population would in time come to depend upon this assistance, and thus be demoralized to such an extent as to squander its surplus when it had plenty, fully confident that it could claim assistance when times of scarcity occurred. It was gradually realized that the decay was due to the changes which had taken place during the colonization period, and which had caused the population to set aside their original social organization without any attempt at replacing it with something else, and with this realization came the idea of altering the principles of administration by making the Greenlanders themselves share in the responsibility.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

Principally on the initiative of Rink, then inspector of South Greenland, and Samuel Kleinschmidt, one of the Moravian missionaries, a number of Greenland officials sent in a proposal to the Ministry of the Interior in 1856. According to this proposal a kind of municipal institution was to be established, partly with a view to remedying the drawbacks attached to the prevailing administration of the fund for the relief of the poor, partly to attempt to introduce a local administration of other matters (chiefly judicial): and also in collaboration with the natives themselves, to rouse their independence and interest in common matters and to elaborate new rules for their social organization. With the approval of the Ministry of the Interior these institutions, the so-called *boards of guardians*, were then introduced as an experiment in the South Greenland districts, according to preliminary regulations prepared by the inspector. Each of the five districts was supplied with its own board of guardians, consisting partly of the Danish officials as permanent members, partly of natives elected by the population itself from amongst men who were known to be good kayakers and sealers, or who had otherwise distinguished themselves by their independence. The function of the board of guardians was mainly the administration of the yearly revenues which, on the basis of what had hitherto been expended by the inspector for similar purposes, were to be used for the relief of the poor and to encourage independence and enterprise; further, the boards of guard-

ians might negotiate about such affairs as concerned the natives, and bring forward proposals as to commercial matters, grants towards education and public health, and the measures to be resorted to in the case of crimes etc. In order to establish a sharp division between relief granted to the poor and recompenses for independence, the population was divided into certain classes according to ability and occupation, by which arrangement it was strongly emphasized that sealing was the occupation upon which the existence of the population principally depended.

Even though the introduction of boards of guardians was chiefly suggested by the increasing impoverishment among the Greenlanders, it was strongly maintained from the first that they were essentially to be regarded as an attempt to extend civil law to the natives, because order and discipline among the Greenlanders themselves had been weakened when their old customs and institutions were set aside in their intercourse with the Danes, who on the strength of their position came to dominate those dwelling around them.

After a trial extending over some years the boards of guardians were introduced as a permanent institution for the whole of the colonized part of West Greenland,¹ and special rules were fixed for supplying the funds necessary for the maintenance of this institution. A tax of 25 per cent was introduced—to be paid by the Royal Greenland Trading Company—on all native products purchased within the district, and the amount was placed to the credit of the “Greenlanders Fund”, which consisted of two parts for each district, the district funds administered by the guardians, and, for each province (inspectorate), the common funds administered by the inspector. The composition of the boards of guardians was, further, almost as originally proposed for South Greenland, and their duties consisted in:

- 1) Administration of the law in civil and criminal matters,
- 2) Division of inheritance among the Greenlanders,
- 3) Administration of all public relief, partly in the shape of food, clothes, the necessary tools, fuel, etc. to all who were in need of such assistance, and partly as recompenses to enterprising and economical bread-winners.

During the early years of the boards of guardians various difficulties had to be combated, partly such contingencies as had been undervalued, and partly such as it had not been possible to foresee, and now and again Greenlanders as well as Danes failed to realize the significance of the boards, while the incompleteness of the regulations at times gave rise to misunderstandings which counteracted their object. Nevertheless, these trial years served to demonstrate the vitality of the boards of guardians, and to prove

¹ In the Cape York District and at Angmagssalik on the east coast it has not yet been thought possible to introduce municipal administration, as these districts have only in quite recent years obtained a more permanent connection with civilization.

that the development of the population, and geographical conditions, did not put any obstacles in the way of the new arrangement proposed; the native guardians were generally more apt to interest themselves in public order and, with this end in view, to take proceedings against their countrymen than had been expected. But the most important feature of the experiment was that the guardians proved themselves able to administer the affairs of the relief fund in such a manner that, without incurring too great expenses, they warded off actual starvation and prompted the better part of the population to independence and diligence. However, in North Greenland the boards of guardians had greater difficulties to surmount than in South Greenland, and a significant difference arose between the boards of guardians of the two provinces in that all borrowing was completely stopped in South Greenland, and the contributions to the relief of the poor were made an actual gift, while this proceeding was considered impracticable in North Greenland where, for a number of years, a considerable practice of borrowing was kept up in addition to the support given by the board of guardians.

In order to bring about a greater homogeneity in the functions of the boards and to modify such rules as experience had proved to be inexpedient, the regulations were subjected to a new revision, in 1871, which resulted in "Regulations for the Greenlanders' Fund and the Boards of Guardians in Greenland," issued on January 31st, 1872.

In the composition of the boards the only alteration made was that the clergyman was everywhere made the regular chairman. The borrowing practice was entirely abandoned, and stricter regulations were made for rendering assistance, for which purpose a definite amount was assigned to every native member for distribution within his own district. The former recompenses were given up, being replaced by a regular distribution of the surplus of the revenues of the district funds among the independent bread-winners, the so-called repartition, which was the first step towards the conception of self-taxation, in that the independent producer became interested in reducing, as much as possible, the expenses for the relief of the poor. The native guardians divided the bread-winners into three classes, according to ability, and this division formed the basis of the distribution of the surplus of the revenues of the district funds, the first class obtaining three shares, the second two, and the third one, while persons possessing an umiaq were given a further three shares, and those possessing a dog sledge with a team were given two shares.

In 1868, when the price of blubber had been raised by 43 per cent, the amount paid to the "Greenlanders' Funds" was at the same time reduced from 25 to 20 per cent. This tax was now distributed, partly to the Greenlanders funds and partly to the district funds, two thirds to the latter and one-third to the former, which in its turn had to give up a third of the amount assigned to it to the newly established "common funds" for the whole of

Greenland, which were placed under the Ministry of the Interior, whereas the inspectors' right to dispose of the Greenlanders' funds was somewhat restricted.

The effects of these rules were in the main beneficial, though at the same time certain drawbacks soon began to make themselves felt, the regulation that a certain amount was to be assigned to relief in the course of the winter even giving rise to the curious misunderstanding that this amount should perforce be spent, and it also turned out that the regulations proved very detrimental to the former community, in that the sealers often referred relatives to the guardians for whom, according to ancient custom, it was their own duty to provide. Consequently, the regulations were altered once more in 1881, so that a still sharper division was to be made between support and pauper relief proper, and it was strongly emphasized that the persons relieved must not have relations, who according to ancient custom were bound to succour them, and that the system of donations should not be abused by distribution to those who were themselves to blame for their position. In such cases the strict rule was enforced that the board of guardians should only help them when their distress was so great that they were in danger of perishing. In order to prompt the Greenlanders to provide for their relatives it was further stipulated that in the distribution of the repartition the head of a household was to receive a share for each person for whom he provided.

In their altered form these regulations constituted the basis of the duties of the guardians, until the institution was abolished in 1911. As to their triple function within this period a short summary will be given in the following.

With regard to the *legislative functions* of the boards of guardians a number of the original Eskimo regulations have partly obtained general sanction and partly, without deliberate attempts at alteration, have been adapted to the exigencies of modern conditions. As examples of the former may be mentioned the numerous rules for the division of the catch and for hunting and fishing generally. As examples of rules adapted to modern conditions the great importance which is still attached to family relations as the basis of the social order may be mentioned. Marriages are now contracted in the ordinary manner, under the auspices of the Church, and there is naturally no longer any question of taking a bride by force; on the other hand, marriages are very frequently arranged by the parents and at a very early age. The newly married couple as a rule try to set up housekeeping for themselves, but if this is impracticable, they begin their married life in the house of the parents of one of them, which like the former communal houses, may thus sometimes come to accommodate several families. Domestic discipline is rarely resorted to among married couples, but if so it does not, as among the Central Eskimos (Boas p. 580), constitute a basis for divorce, divorces

being, for that matter, entirely unknown in present day Greenland. There are no conventions of any kind regarding any definite period which is supposed to elapse before contracting a new marriage after the death of a wife or a husband.

Within the colonized area official cases of polygamy and polyandry naturally do not occur; also the exchange of wives, according to religious or traditional usage, is now a thing of the past. Nevertheless morality is low among the Greenlanders, and as the result of the common Eskimo view of sexual matters, free intercourse between the sexes is extremely common, while births *extra matrimonium* are not at all considered a cause for reproof.

The children are now, as formerly, brought up in the most complete freedom and generally well treated; still cases of infanticide occur and also of *abortus provocatus*, when it is feared that the child will hinder the mother.

As to the rights of property and inheritance, the reader is referred to what has already been said on pp. 51—52.

With regard to the legislative activity of the guardians, the results obtained must be said to be very meagre. For one thing, the institution was too unwieldy, and the Danes frequently lacked the interest and insight to guide the Greenlanders, who could not themselves see the object of the proposals set forth. So they frequently, without objections, agreed to the regulations proposed, and then, when the proposals had been passed and established, opposed their practical application. Therefore, the attempt to renew and transform the original Eskimo usage and so to establish a common legislation for the communities of Greenland, must be considered rather a failure.

Still, it is owing to the boards of guardians that a number of questions were raised which were of importance for the dwelling place, such as rules for habitation and quarantine, various regulations for immigration and the combating of hydrophobia; further, a number of interesting proposals for new social regulations were made during the last years of the guardians. These were most frequently set forth on the initiative of the Greenlanders themselves: thus may be mentioned proposals for the improvement of hygienic conditions, particularly the provision of better winter dwellings; for the establishment of various loan institutions and voluntary poor rates; for the introduction of provision for old hunters; for regulations regarding alimony and for increasing skill in kayaking. That these proposals were not already carried into practice at the time of the boards of guardians, is partly due to administrative and political conditions, and partly to lack of collaboration between the authorities in Greenland and Denmark.

Whereas, therefore, the boards of guardians never came to have any great influence in legislation, there is no doubt that their share in the *administration of justice* was of very great importance to the social organization, and their attempts to make the Greenlanders realize and respect them as a court of

justice have actually been attended by success. It is true that the almost complete lack of penal clauses, and the ignorance of formal proceedings of the members, may at times have caused the various boards of guardians to arrive at widely different decisions in almost identical cases. Here also the lack of effective means of punishment was severely felt, as imprisonment is only practicable in Greenland in rare cases, and the authorities have consequently had to resort to punishments which, for the more serious crimes—for that matter rarely occurring in Greenland—must be considered inadequate, such as pecuniary punishment, loss of honour or bodily castigation; still, the boards of guardians in this respect have done very valuable work, and owing to the low percentage of crime among the Greenlanders—on an average there are only six criminal cases in the course of the year—these drawbacks have not made themselves quite so much felt as might otherwise be expected. To show the extent of the duties of the guardians as regards the administration of justice, it may be said that about 189 cases were dealt with in the period 1882 to 1911, distributed under the following heads according to the nature of the crime.

55 cases of theft, 5 of which were in connection with burglary.

1 „ „ of theft of wood from churchyards (several persons implicated).

6 cases of forgery.

4 „ „ fraud.

3 „ „ robbery.

1 „ „ misappropriation of trust money.

1 „ „ abuse of public funds.

2 „ „ unlawful use of property found.

16 „ „ destruction of property.

1 „ „ reckless shooting of reindeer.

20 „ „ violence.

7 „ „ taking the law in one's own hand.

28 „ „ transgression of administrative rules.

2 „ „ false depositions before guardians.

14 „ „ immoral conduct.

2 „ „ abortion.

5 „ „ delivery under concealment of pregnancy.

2 „ „ infanticide.

5 „ „ adultery.

3 „ „ incest.

3 „ „ murder.

2 „ „ manslaughter.

As an example of the legal judgments of the guardians in civil cases, an extract is here given of a case relating to the use of fishing grounds which

incidentally serves as an illustration of the difference between the Eskimo and the European sense of justice.

„Mathias Broberg stated the case. According to Greenland custom a place for setting out fishing nets, fox traps or the like may be inherited like a house or other property. No Greenlander of these parts may justly be said to have found fishing grounds in the harbour bay, all such being formerly bought or found and exclusively exploited by the Broberg family. But several persons have unlawfully set out nets which prevent the Broberg family from carrying on their fishery, for which reason we demand the removal of these nets.”

G. Kleist: “The Broberg family, in my opinion, cannot forbid other people to set out nets in the harbour bay, in the places which they themselves do not use. Here there are for instance three small bays which are frequented by seals; the Broberg family only set out nets in the two; am I not then permitted to use the third?”

Mathias Broberg: “Yes, but not until we have set out our nets, and only according to our instructions, for all the places where it is possible to set out nets are the property of the Broberg family, either by purchase or inheritance.”

Kleist and the others admitted the proprietorship of the Broberg family to all places where nets are set out in the harbour bay. Furthermore, they admitted that it is Greenland custom not to place nets in such a manner as in any way to impede the fishery at the nets already set out.

In consequence Kleist and Isak Ville agreed to remove their nets and only to set them out in the harbour bay according to the directions of the Broberg family.

Mathias Broberg: “Nathaniel Broberg, in partnership with another, has also set out nets. It is true that Nathaniel is himself a Broberg, and as such is entitled to use the Broberg family’s fishing grounds as he likes. But when he has entered into partnership of a fishing net with another outside the family, he must, according to Greenland custom, be considered a non-Broberg, and consequently is not entitled to use the fishing grounds of the family.”

The correctness of this view was admitted on all hands, and so Nathaniel Broberg engaged for the future only to set out the net belonging to him and another, according to the direction of the head of the Broberg family.”

With regard to *municipal administration* there is no doubt that the boards of guardians did valuable work; there were very few cases of actual misappropriation of trust funds, and the native guardians on whom the duty devolved of distributing relief and dividing the repartition generally performed their tasks in a satisfactory manner. Still, it proved impracticable to carry out the regulations according to the letter: the guardians generally

attached too little weight to the duty of the bread-winner to support near relations, so that many who were bound to do so according to old custom, accepted them as members of their households, it is true, but otherwise referred them to the guardians, although they themselves were quite able to support them; further, it became the habit to grant a certain sum for the relief of the poor in the course of the winter, the guardians then being entitled to spend this amount, even if there was no actual occasion for administering relief. A further danger to the healthy development of the economic life of the Greenlanders was that they had got into the habit of turning to the Danish officials for help, particularly in times of need, and of receiving loans from them. This practice which was by no means to the pecuniary advantage of the lenders, but, on the contrary, often involved direct losses, as the loans were frequently not repaid, gradually assumed such proportions as partly to lessen the importance of the work of the guardians for the relief of the poor, and partly to have an undermining effect on the independence of the population.

Further, it often proved difficult to effect common undertakings which were to be subsidized by the district funds through the medium of the boards of guardians; the large extent of each district caused such matters to be opposed by many of the members, as only benefiting individual dwelling places, whereas the repartition for the others would be diminished by the increase of expenses.

Also the administration of the repartition had proved to suffer from various defects, partly because it was fixed at the same amount for each of the dwelling places of the district, which must necessarily give rise to discontent wherever economy in expenses was practised, and the income from production was high. Further, only the sealers shared in the repartition, while a change had gradually taken place in economic conditions, so that part of the population, without being engaged in sealing, still managed to subsist independently by fishing, fox-trapping or in some other way, and though contributing to the district funds through the dues levied on native products, they had no share in the repartition.

In this connection it should be mentioned that the Danish colonization had entailed a social division which is entirely foreign to the original Eskimo community. During the early part of the period of colonization the persons appointed at the various trading posts were almost exclusively Europeans. The majority of these employees remained in Greenland for the rest of their lives, and many of them married native women, thus being entirely absorbed in the native life of Greenland. Many of these Danes were able and energetic men, and this was of the greatest importance to the Greenlanders, partly because they frequently acted as pioneers among the natives (as, e. g., with net fishing), and partly because the race resulting from the—legitimate or illegitimate—mixture of native and European blood has proved physically

and intellectually superior to the pure Eskimo, and far more susceptible to development. However, more particularly from the middle of the 19th century, the Danish administration, in an increasing degree, began to take natives into its service, and at the present time all the subordinate officials of the administration as well as the lower clergy and catechists (teachers) are Greenlanders.

As mentioned above, a separate class occupied in *fishing* has come into existence in addition to the sealers, and, finally, there is a fairly large proletariat class, who earn a precarious living as day labourers during the summer season. According to the official reports the proportion of the various occupations for the whole of Greenland may be estimated as follows: 50 to 60 per cent subsist by sealing, about 20 per cent by fishing, while 18 to 20 per cent hold permanent appointments. There is, however, a considerable difference in the various districts, and, further, the statistical material is somewhat misleading in that a great number of those who are registered as sealers in reality often mainly subsisted by fishing, and the percentage of sealers given is too high, this occupation being even now the most highly esteemed and also entitling those who practise it to a greater share in the repartition.

The permanent employees undoubtedly lead the most secure existence, and in North-west Greenland they have so much leisure as to be able to carry on sealing, fishing, or some other private pursuit. They must be considered a superior class, and have taken the lead in the construction of larger and more sanitary wooden houses, while a certain amount of luxury sometimes makes itself felt in the appointment of their dwellings and their whole mode of life.

Between these different classes a definite contrast has gradually developed, their aims and interests being no longer the same, and this also manifests itself in a certain social and political friction, even though there is as yet no question of political parties in the proper sense of the word.

With the increasing social division the regulations laid down for the boards of guardians in several respects proved more and more at variance with actual conditions, and the administration in Denmark was already preparing a general revision of the institution, when, in 1904, violent criticism was brought to bear upon the administration of Greenland. As mentioned elsewhere this gave rise to a general discussion of the Greenland question, which resulted in a thorough investigation by the Danish Parliament, and on May 27th, 1908, an act was passed concerning the administration of the Greenland colonies, which will only be dealt with here in so far as it influenced the social conditions of the native population.

THE ACT OF 1908.

This law made no essential change in the rule applying to the boards of guardians as regards the raising of the revenues necessary for the municipal administration, except that the district funds were replaced by the municipal funds for each trading post (outpost) with appertaining dwelling places. On the other hand, the law introduced radical changes as regards the actual municipal administration, in that the duties which had hitherto been ascribed to the guardians were now transferred to three different authorities, *viz.* the municipal councils, the provincial councils, and the mixed courts.

According to the Act of 1908 the details of the administration, through the agency of these new institutions, were to be further elaborated by Royal Statutes. These were issued in 1910.

By these the number of *municipal councils* was fixed at 26 in South Greenland, and 36 in North Greenland, so that the area of the municipality became much smaller than that of the boards of guardians. Every dwelling place with two or more householders, who were entitled to vote, could elect a member, the councils consisting of at least three members, elected for a period of four years. Their duties consisted partly in the administration of grants for the support and relief of the poor, which was decided at meetings held monthly during the six winter months, and partly in the preparation of repartition proposals, as well as in dealing with cases of inheritance, with civil cases, where both parties were Greenlanders, and with minor penal cases (misdemeanours). The councils consisted exclusively of native Greenlanders, and only in special cases Danes might be appointed as extraordinary members, their appointment having to be sanctioned by the Minister of the Interior at Copenhagen.

A *provincial council* was to be appointed for each of the two provinces; the members of these councils were to be elected for a period of six years from among the members of the municipal councils of each district, the number of districts being eleven for South Greenland and twelve for North Greenland. Meetings were to be held once a year under the presidency of the inspector, and the meeting would partly transact the affairs common to the province, partly report on cases referred to the council by the Government or taken up at the initiative of the council itself, or deal with grants from the common funds. In the Royal Statutes it was expressly stated that the council would make proposals, start inquiries relating to social conditions, and send in complaints bearing upon the maintenance of the law, or the administration of public affairs.

Finally, the so-called *mixed courts* were introduced with the object of attending to all the more important penal cases and to civil cases, where the defendant, but not the plaintiff, was a Greenlanders. This court was to consist

of the inspector as president, either in person or by deputy, and, further, of two native members, appointed from the municipal councils of the districts, and of two Danish members, appointed by the inspector.

After the guardians had held their last meeting in the spring of 1911, and their duties had been transferred to the new institutions, the municipal government had entered into a new and highly important phase, inasmuch as the Greenlanders, through the newly founded councils, had attained far greater authority as regards the management of their own affairs than hitherto. In the following a few details are given as to the work done by these new institutions during the period that they have been at work.

The *provincial councils*, besides defraying various expenses from the common funds of the districts, have done valuable work by co-operating in the new legislative work; thus regulations have been worked out for the computation of the repartition, for the right of inhabitation and the family responsibilities of the bread-winners, as well as regulations for institutions, the object of which was to grant loans for the necessary implements to carry on trade and the building of houses. The idea underlying the establishment of these councils, *viz.* the creation of a centre for the common interests of the whole population of the province, must thus be said to have been fulfilled, and to a certain extent the decision of the provincial councils may undoubtedly be considered an expression of the views of the Greenlanders. Still, the political immaturity of the members, and a certain ignorance of parliamentary proceedings should be taken into account, and, further, that the area of the provincial councils was made so large that the knowledge of local affairs in certain cases proved insufficient.

The *mixed courts* administered the law cases coming within their jurisdiction—for that matter not a very great number—in a rather satisfactory manner, but the institution was somewhat unwieldy and, like the boards of guardians, suffered from the lack of definite penal clauses and an effective means of punishment, the older extremely deficient rules regarding the administration of justice being the only ones available. This lack, however, is now on the point of being remedied, in that detailed proposals for a penal code, chiefly on a European pattern, have been set forth in the provincial councils.

The operation of the *municipal councils*, on the other hand, must be said to have been less satisfactory. The argument advanced in favour of this great change in the local municipal administration was partly the desirability of avoiding the drawback attaching to the boards of guardians, *viz.* that they covered larger territorial areas than the Greenlanders could grasp or their economic interests encompass, and partly by the view held that if the Greenlanders were to develop independence, they would have to learn to make decisions of their own accord and with a sense of responsibility.

Even while acknowledging the correctness of this argument it must, how-

Summary of the accounts of the *Greenlanders' funds* 1880—1910
(Average per five years. Amounts in kroner).

Population	Surplus at beginning of year	Share of the tax on native products	Interest etc.	Refundments and grants	Total	Expenses				
						Support			Adminis- tration	Extraordin- ary expenses
						Actual support	Relief of the poor	Rifles and wood materials		
1880—84.....	9764	11898	18897	707	726	2741	2003	11968	2394	160
1885—89.....	10083	15899	18821	635	730	2018	2082	436	2663	327
1890—94.....	10300	17392	20727	668	641	2131	1289	483	2725	627
1895—99.....	10808	21216	22096	977	—	1910	1353	625	16795	171
1900—04.....	11436	21056	23582	1134	172	2238	1152	411	16745	60
1905—1909....	12188	27062	28997	1379	66	3009	1745	744	21882	194

Summary of the accounts of the *municipal funds* 1911—24
(Amounts in kroner).

Population	Income					Expenses				
	Surplus at beginning of year	Share of the tax on native products	Interest etc.	Refundments and grants	Total	Support	Relief of the poor	Repartition	Adminis- tration	Extraordin- ary expenses
1911—15....	12706	30583	32946	1545	859	4335	877	26024	2251	884
1916—20....	13363	30735	35145	2071	3903	5931	1343	25741	3352	2173
1921—25....	13719	38985	46741	2983	5131	8061	1318	33989	4593	4803

The most important expenditure of the *Greenlanders' funds* for each individual.
(Amounts in ore.)

Year	Support			Relief of poor			Repartition		
	South Greenl.	North Greenl.	West Greenl.	South Greenl.	North Greenl.	West Greenl.	South Greenl.	North Greenl.	West Greenl.
1880-84...	11	49	29	10	34	22	98	154	125
1885-89...	13	28	20	11	34	22	98	179	138
1890-94...	16	26	21	5	21	13	88	182	135
1895-99...	20	15	17	7	19	13	97	225	161
1900-1904.	24	14	20	6	15	10	88	215	156
1905-1909.	29	20	25	10	19	14	125	244	185

The most important expenditure of the *municipal funds* for each individual.
(Amounts in ore.)

Year	Support			Relief of poor			Repartition		
	South Greenl.	North Greenl.	West Greenl.	South Greenl.	North Greenl.	West Greenl.	South Greenl.	North Greenl.	West Greenl.
1914.....	34	43	38	3	9	6	185	277	236
1915.....	31	39	35	6	9	7	160	257	205
1916.....	32	41	36	5	21	13	168	210	188
1917.....	33	42	37	4	21	12	167	183	175
1918.....	40	72	56	3	14	8	202	179	192
1919.....	45	56	50	6	13	9	233	221	227
1920.....	38	51	44	6	12	9	179	192	185
1921.....	46	73	59	6	17	11	262	266	264
1922.....	45	57	51	6	7	7	242	195	219
1923.....	52	62	57	5	13	9	257	278	267

ever, be maintained that the population in its entirety was hardly sufficiently developed for such a radical reform, which must be looked upon as an expression of what the Danish administration and the Government considered expedient and practicable, and only in a lesser degree what was the best and most practical arrangement from the point of view of the Greenlanders. Their strong conservatism had not been taken sufficiently into account, any more than the important fact that they came to stand quite alone in the municipal councils, as Danes could only be appointed extraordinary members under special conditions. It proved very difficult for the councils to do without the support and guidance formerly given by the Danes. This made itself felt particularly in the manner of dealing with lawsuits and cases relating to the division of inheritances, matters in which the Greenlanders were entirely unaccustomed to make decisions of their own accord. Also, the chief function of the municipal councils—the administration of the relief funds—in many respects left much to be desired, especially as these councils

by no means had the same authority over the population as the boards of guardians of a former period. The strong decentralization which characterized the municipal councils as contrasted with the boards of guardians increased a certain tendency on the part of the councils to attend merely to the interests of the individual dwelling places, and this tendency could not be counteracted by the provincial councils, the duties of which were essentially different.

Consequently, the new municipal organization had not been in force for many years, before the population, which strongly felt these drawbacks and difficulties, brought forward proposals for alterations through their municipal and provincial councils. These proposals chiefly aimed at the introduction of a connecting link between the small municipal councils and the far too extensive provincial councils, but also at the possibility of a collaboration between Greenlanders and Danes in the public institutions, which was all the more remarkable, as the tendency from which the Act of 1908 had sprung was clearly directed towards the exclusion of the Danes from participation in the social policy of Greenland.

Furthermore, many of the Danish officials in Greenland, who had come to take a steadily increasing interest in the social work of that country, were very discontented at being entirely cut off from all influence in matters covered by the municipal and provincial councils. When the time came for a revision of the Act of 1908, the alterations introduced by this law were severely criticized, partly by the Greenland provincial councils, and partly by the commission appointed for the discussion of conditions in Greenland. On both sides decisive alterations were proposed, and these proposals resulted in the new law for the administration of Greenland, issued on April 18th, 1925.

THE ACT OF 1925.

By this it is openly acknowledged that the Act of 1908 had not had the desired effect, particularly because the municipal councils had been unable to cope with the duties which had been assigned to them, but also because the Greenlanders had been deprived of all support and guidance from without by the exclusion of the Danes from participating in the public administration. That this, in its turn, contributed towards creating a contrast between the interests of Danes and Greenlanders goes without saying.

The Act of 1925, consequently, makes radical changes in the above-mentioned institutions which owed their existence to the Act of 1908. The municipal councils are in so far retained, but their sphere of activity is greatly limited, their chief duties now being the administration of the municipal finances, *viz.* the relief of the poor. In order to create the possibility of a collaboration between Greenlanders and Danes in all municipal matters, the former rules for eligibility and suffrage for the municipal as well as for the provincial councils are altered so as to make Danes and Greenlanders alike eligible.

The Act of 1925 further introduces an entirely novel administrative organ, the "Sysselraad" or *district council*, the object of which is to bring about a greater uniformity in the municipal and intermunicipal administration, and to counteract the tendency, so common among Greenlanders, to attend to purely local interests, irrespective of their consequences in wider circles. The area covered by the district council will almost coincide with that of the present districts, and they are to be composed (1) of all the members of the provincial councils, (2) the spokesmen of all the municipal councils of the district, and (3) of all the Danish officials holding appointments in the district. The chairman of the provincial council who is to be appointed by the Minister of the Interior, in cases of emergency acts as the deputy of the chief administrator of the province ("Landsfoged").

The proceedings of these councils are not definitely established, but they cover all lawsuits and cases relating to the division of inheritances for all persons under the Greenland law, the "mixed courts" disappearing entirely; and, further, the council covers the inspection of schools as well as matters relating to public health and intermunicipal matters; also, the administration of the district funds (the basis of which has been provided from the common provincial funds), the computation of the repartition, and the granting of assistance and loans towards the building of houses etc.

The two *provincial councils*, established by the Act of 1908 for North and South Greenland respectively, are retained by the Act of 1925, but as part of the duties of the provincial councils will be transferred to the new district councils, the law determines that the provincial councils shall only assemble once every second year. The clause hitherto prevailing that the members of the provincial council should belong to the native population—which clause had caused great discontent, because it excluded not only the Danish officials, but also the most enlightened and intelligent Greenlanders, in that all Greenland officials were included under "Danes"—has, as mentioned above, been modified by the Act of 1925, so that the members of the provincial councils are to fulfil the conditions for eligibility to the municipal councils, and thus the possibility of collaboration between Danes and Greenlanders is created within the provincial council.

As to the duties of the provincial council, it is regulated by the Act of 1925, principally in accordance with the existing rules, that the district council is to collaborate in the establishment of such regulations and to report on proposals for laws and regulations concerning the whole province.

A reform which must surely be considered of extreme importance for the position occupied by the Danish language should be here mentioned, *viz.* the provision that Danish, as well as Greenlandic, can be used during the proceedings, whereas the exclusive use of Greenlandic has hitherto been the rule.

As opposed to the Act of 1908 the new law expresses thoughts and wishes, which have arisen among and have been brought forward by the native population of Greenland, and there is hardly any doubt that if it is carried into effect in accordance with these wishes and proposals, some of the most obvious deficiencies of the present public administration will be remedied.

It cannot be denied that the Act of 1925, in certain respects, must be considered as a retrograde step, and that it characterizes as premature the idea, prevailing within certain circles, that the Greenlanders are already sufficiently developed to attend to their own public affairs, unaided, and with full responsibility. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that in this as in other respects Greenland has undergone great changes during the last generation, and that there is a rapidly growing interest in political and social problems. And although this interest may sometimes manifest itself in views and opinions which seem peculiar to the European mind, it must, nevertheless, be taken as a proof that the Greenlanders of the present day are on the point of establishing a more regular social organization, having through their participation in the public administration developed a firmer grasp of social conditions, and a considerable insight into the administration of the affairs of their own small community.

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HISTORY OF THE TRADE AND COLONIZATION UNTIL 1870

BY

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TRADING COMMUNICATION IN THE NORSE PERIOD.

From the time of the first discovery and settlement of Greenland we know of trade intercourse between the old Norsemen and the Scandinavian countries, and although the information at hand is sparse and sporadic, it is still possible to form a fairly accurate picture of the manner in which this intercourse took place throughout the three or four centuries, from its beginning, until it ceased altogether.

Erik the Red and his countrymen had hardly settled at the fiords of south-western Greenland, before traders began to arrive, hoping thus to extend their field of activity, and as might be expected trading communication during this early period was almost exclusively with *Iceland*.

According to the Saga of Erik the Red, Thorfinn Karlsefni was the name of an "able seaman and trader" who—in all probability shortly before the close of the 10th century—fitted out his vessel for a trading voyage to Greenland. There were forty men onboard, when the vessel left Alptafjördr on Iceland, and at the same time another trading vessel bound for Greenland set forth from one of the fiords on the east coast, also with forty men onboard. Nothing is reported as to the length of the sea voyage, but the vessels "arrived in Eiriksfiördr (Tunugdliarfik Fiord) in the autumn." As soon as they lay alongside, Erik himself came down "on horseback" to greet them and several others with him. They immediately began to trade, and they soon agreed to terms. As it was so late in the autumn that it would be dangerous to return to Iceland, Karlsefni and the other captain offered Erik a reasonable share of their merchandise if, in return, he would give them board and shelter during the winter. Erik agreed and received them as friends at his farm Brattahlíð, while their merchandise was placed in some of his store houses, and the vessels were dismantled and put into winter harbour. In the course of the winter Erik further bought malt and grain to brew beer for Yuletide, and a wassail was held which was justly renowned, for "hardly ever before had such splendour been seen in a poor country."

When Thorgils Orrabeinsfostre, a friend of Erik the Red, came to visit him in Greenland, he also brought merchandise and traded with the Norse settlers. It is told how a quarrel sprang up between his followers and those of Erik, at a time when many people were assembled in an isolated house where the merchandise had been stored, and where Thorgils stood trading with the "Greenlanders". He afterwards went towards the north to the western settlement, also on a trading expedition.

From the time after the death of Erik the Red it is reported that the chieftain Thorgrim Trolle in the year of 1022 set forth from Greenland on a trading expedition; he visited Norway, Denmark and England, and acquired great wealth by his trading there.

Skáldhelgi, of literary fame as the great law-speaker of Greenland, was the son of an Icelandic peasant. After being outlawed he left Norway (somewhere between 1025 and 1030) in a trading vessel bound for Greenland and the vessel landed in Eiríksfjörðr where he and his companions set up their booths for trading.

A certain literary fame has also been achieved by the young Icelandic peasant, Audun, who accompanied the Norwegian captain, Torer, on a trading expedition to Greenland. While Torer traded in the Eystribygd, Audun went to the Vestribygd, where he bought a young, tame polar bear, giving all he possessed for it. He took it to Denmark in the spring of 1062, and presented it to King Svend Estridsen who, in return, gave him a well-equipped trading vessel and other gifts with which he returned to his home in Iceland.

Einar Sokkesön about 1120 set out for Norway to work for the establishment of a bishopric in Greenland, and he brought a great quantity of walrus tusks and fine skins to "win the favour of the chieftains by means of these."

At first the trading vessels to Greenland followed the old westward course—which is described in detail in "The Navigation of Greenland"—but gradually a new course across the Atlantic to Cape Farewell became the usual route, especially after the trade with Greenland had begun to be centred in Bergen.

About the same time permanent trading posts came to be established in Greenland. Ruins of such are found in Igaliko Fiord (Ejnarfjörðr), the so-called Skálgsbúdir, mentioned in 1135 in connection with a litigation. Here the vessels bound for the most populous part of the eastern settlement came alongside, and the inhabitants then flocked there to trade.

In his description of Greenland Ivar Baardsön narrates that there is a harbour at Herjólfnes, called Sand, which is used by Norwegians and other traders. Also in the western settlement there must beyond doubt have been regular trading posts, but no traces of such have been found, and so, for the present, nothing can be said for certain.

We know the nature of the merchandise imported, from the sagas and

the "Kings Mirror", and also from recent finds in the old Norse churchyard or in sites of homesteads and kitchenmiddens. These finds comprise nails, rivets, fragments of knives and other ironware, and these together with malt and flour were the most common imports. From the "Kings Mirror" it further appears that there has at times been a considerable import of timber and wood; also, at any rate during the first centuries of the colonization period, there must have been a regular import of domestic animals for breeding purposes.

The *exports* mainly consisted of train-oil (seal tar) and skins, tusks of narwhale and walrus, the latter being especially in great request in Europe. The Greenlanders paid their tithes to the King in the shape of walrus tusks, and as late as 1327, 130 stone of walrus tusks were sent to the Pope in Rome as a tribute to the Crusades and Peter-pence, but a few years later the Norsemen in Greenland were exempted from paying a tithe extraordinary to the Pope "on account of their poverty."

Other articles of export were ropes, used on ships, and made of walrus hide, the so-called "heavy ropes", as well as a home-made woollen fabric, *vadmel*, which is mentioned on several occasions as a specially Greenlandic commodity. Also live falcons and white bears were exported as these were in great demand at the European courts.

Thus there was, for several centuries, a certain trade between Greenland and northern Europe, though the intercourse can hardly at any time be said to have been regular. The dangers attending this traffic were always great with the small vessels of those days and in the ice-filled, frequently storm-tossed seas. There were years when communication was kept up without any accidents worth mentioning, and the journey there and back could be made within a reasonable time. But the vessels were often obliged to spend the winter in Greenland, and the fact that they must always be prepared for this contingency and, consequently, carry provisions for wintering, greatly limited the space which could be used for actual articles of trade. And that the stay in Greenland might extend over several years appears from an account dating from 1261, in which it is stated that a period of five years was frequently spent in the voyage from Norway to Greenland and back again.

The attempts made by the Norsemen to keep up the traffic *from* Greenland were always sporadic, and became still more so, as the conditions of life grew poorer. (As to this deterioration and its causes and consequences see "The Finds of Herjólfnes", vol. II). The Norsemen in Greenland, even in their most flourishing period, had very few vessels as all timber for ship-building had to be imported. How badly equipped these vessels were appears from

the account of the Greenland trader Ásmund Kastanraze, who in 1189 sailed from Greenland in a vessel, in which there was not a single iron nail but only wooden ones, while the planks were lashed together with sinews and the rigging was set up by means of straps of skin.

When the Free State of Greenland, in 1261, swore allegiance to the Norwegian King, all traffic more and more came to take place from Norway, and Bergen became the seat of the Greenland trade. About the middle of the 14th century a royal prohibition was issued against private traffic on Greenland—in other words the Greenland trade was made a royal monopoly. But the ravages of the “Black Death”, which were particularly severe in Bergen, proved fatal to the Norsemen in Greenland. Very few vessels were sent up and only with long and irregular intervals, until the Norwegian king began to fear that the inhabitants might return to “heathen practices”, and so in 1355 he gave orders that the “knorr” (i. e. the royal trading vessel, which had been used for the trade with Greenland) should once more be equipped and sent out in order to strengthen the Christian congregation in Greenland and to prevent it from sliding back to heathendom. At that time there had been no communication for a period of nine years.

For several years in succession, the “knorr” was sent up to Greenland, but it was not long before the intercourse once more grew irregular. Thus in 1383 a vessel returned to Norway, reporting that Bishop Alf had died—six years ago!

In 1384 King Oluf issued a law which enforced the former prohibition and fixed still narrower limits for the traffic with Greenland. Things were carried so far that when, in 1389, Biörn Einarson (the Crusader) from Vatnafjördr on Iceland arrived in Bergen, an action was brought against him for illicit trafficking with Greenland, and Queen Margrethe maintained that the Crown had the exclusive right to trade with that country. He was, however, acquitted, as he had come to Greenland inadvertently, having been blown out of his course so that he had been forced to put into a port of refuge on Greenland, where he had spent two winters at the eastern settlement.

The plague which broke out in Norway in 1392, the destruction of Bergen in the following year, and the removal to Denmark of the seat of the Norwegian Government, put further obstacles in the way of the regular navigation of the old Norse settlements. As late as in the reign of King Erik (of Pomern), the prohibition against private trafficking with Greenland was enforced (1425), only the king's vessel, the “knorr”, being permitted to visit those parts. But, as already mentioned, it often happened that several years elapsed between each visit, and from that period the Norsemen in Greenland were practically cut off from supplies of iron and grain, as well as from all active assistance from the Mother-country. The last absolutely reliable report of a vessel returning from Greenland to Norway dates from

1410, and then the route to Greenland passed entirely into oblivion. According to a doubtful report, German merchants in Bergen in 1484 killed about forty sailors—the last who were acquainted with the course across the main to Greenland—because they refused to sell to them the products which they might possibly bring home from there.

VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY IN THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES.

A couple of centuries elapsed during which there was no trade intercourse between Europe and Greenland, or at any rate only with long intervals. In the latter half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries the Danish-Norwegian kings sent out various expeditions with the object of re-discovering Greenland, and we possess scattered and sparse information to the effect that some of these expeditions occasionally did bartering with the natives, but this naturally does not exclude other expeditions having done so, although no information is available on this point.

The first of these expeditions (1605), consisting of three vessels and with John Cunningham in command, brought back “many good things;” skins of polar bears and blue foxes as well as tusks of narwhales. The Greenlanders were offered silver and gold in exchange, but they preferred iron and steel for which they were very “greedy.” The following year when Godske Lindenow, who had commanded one of the vessels under Cunningham again visited Greenland, and shipped a cargo of what was supposed to be silver ore, he also traded with the natives.

It was, however, the *whaling* in the waters of Greenland which once more revived the commercial intercourse with the inhabitants of that country.

The nation which, before any other, carried on whaling in the seas off Greenland and Newfoundland were the Basques. As early as the second half of the 16th century they arrived in these parts, with vessels especially equipped for the purpose, and home-manufactured implements, among others the harpoon, the name of which is of Basque origin. As late as about the middle of the 18th century Danish vessels might meet Biscayans in Davis Strait on their way to Baffin Bay. As the Basques merely carried on whaling in the open seas, they did not get into touch with the natives, and so they have not contributed towards enlarging our knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. Still, information is at hand of a Biscayan vessel which was wrecked at Sukkertoppen in 1745, from which event the neighbouring Spaniol Island, beyond doubt, derived its name.

The Biscayans became the instructors of Europe in whaling, teaching both the English and the Danes on their first expeditions to Spitzbergen, which the Dutch had discovered in 1596.

The profitable whaling expeditions to Spitzbergen, undertaken by the English and the Dutch, caused Christian IV to assert, with great energy, the possession of the country as making part of the old tributary country Greenland. The Danish navigation of the Arctic Sea was started by the two enterprising brothers, Johan and Gödert Braem, who had emigrated from Hamburg to Copenhagen and became the leaders of the Greenland or Spitzbergen Company, founded in 1619, and which in 1630 was granted the privilege of carrying on whaling, for a period of seven years, in the most northerly waters of the King, Spitzbergen and all other neighbouring islands, or in other words, according to what has been said above, also the old Greenland. In 1634 the privilege was renewed for a period of ten years, and extended so as to comprise whaling from lat. 67° N. as far as the North Pole, while a whaling company, started in 1635 by citizens of Bergen, was granted the privilege of carrying on whaling south of lat. 67° N. In 1655, however, when both brothers had died, the widow of the longer lived ceded the Greenland Company to the Bergen company, which already in 1659 was authorized to hand over its establishments to the Dutch or others, and this for the time being was the end of their whaling expeditions to Spitzbergen.

The growing ascendancy of the Dutch over the English in the Arctic Sea, and the discovery and taking possession of various coast stretches of Greenland by courageous Dutch skippers on behalf of Noordsche Compagnie and Dutch shipowners, aroused the interest of Christian IV in the country, which had been discovered by Hall. He engaged the services of the equally renowned and experienced Straat Davis pilot, Joris Carolus from Enkhuizen; and he also called in many other Dutchmen of different trades, trusting that industry, commerce and navigation would flourish under these teachers.

The company, mentioned in "Early Exploration" (vol. I), was started in Copenhagen (1636) under the presidency of the Mayor of that town. Its object was the navigation of Straat Davis, and a leading part in it was taken by the highly respected and enterprising Dutchman Jan Etterza. This company was granted the sole right of navigating Greenland, north as well as south of Cape Farewell or Statenhuk and out into Fretum Christian or Davids, on both sides and along the coast from the "said fretum" towards the south, as far as is indisputably inhabited by European nations, who actually lived in and possessed it, and also the right to seek their trade and traffic in all with which the country is blessed, ore or metal, furriery, animals or fisheries off the shore. The fact that, already at this time, the idea had been set forth of combining trade with the natives with their conversion from heathendom appears from the strict orders given by the company that the captains should take home "a couple of young people from among the natives, of the age of sixteen, eighteen or twenty, who might here be instructed in religion, language and booklore, for the greater future bliss and well-being of that country."

The vessels sent out by this company, as well as the trading expeditions chartered by H. Müller, Manager General of the Customs, and carried out under the command of D. Danell, bartered with the natives, but the produce which they brought back mainly consisted of a number of narwhale tusks, these being at that time in very great demand in Europe.

Apart from the mysterious expedition sent up in 1673—75 by the great Bergen merchant, Jörgen Thormöhlen, the Greenland trade, so often mentioned at the end of the century in connection with Bergen, in all probability has nothing whatever to do with Greenland ("Straat Davis"), but rather with Spitzbergen ("Greenland"). This also applies to the privileged Norwegian Greenland companies which were started in 1671 and 1678. The Letters Patent, issued by the King in 1691 and prohibiting the "Hanseatic States in Germany" to trade "on Greenland and the surrounding islands" was an attempt to maintain the sovereign rights of Denmark-Norway to carry on whaling in the most northerly seas.

All the information hitherto available confirms the statement of Hans Mathias (see vol. I.) that he was the first to resume, in 1708, with his vessels the connection with the old Greenland. By bartering with the natives he acquired for the first time a cargo of blubber and skins which were taken home; in fact, in 1713, as many as 300 sealskins of the value of 100 rigsdaler. The other Bergen merchants also, who followed his lead, *viz.* Bärenfels v. Warnau, Thormöhlen's son-in-law, and Magnus Schiötte, chiefly aimed at the whale-fisheries in Davis Strait, but at the same time they acquired native produce by bartering with the Eskimos in the Dutch way. Indeed, Bärenfels entertained the plan of founding a trading and whaling station in the country, for which reason his vessels, in 1712—13, imported a cargo of German toys and iron-ware, which articles were greatly appreciated by the natives. From this period we also have a list of the articles of trade, which were in greatest request among the Greenlanders, *viz.* scissiors, knives, needles, woollen and linen fabrics, kettles and glass. The trade took place in the manner that the Greenlanders pointed at the articles which they wished to have, and then laid by skins and blubber and walrus tusks in such quantities as they thought fit. Then goods were added or subtracted on both sides, until the bargain was concluded.

However, the trade on Greenland from Bergen ceased about 1714, by reason of shipwrecks and other untoward circumstances, but a few years afterwards it was revived by the united efforts of the citizens of that town, who felt the obligations laid upon them by the "traders' and sailors' honour which was theirs from of old."

THE DUTCH AND GREENLAND

The commencement of regular expeditions undertaken by the Dutch, especially to the west coast of Greenland, can be dated back to the time of the peace of Utrecht (1713). Their chief object was whaling, and their field of activity was shifted to Davis Strait from Spitzbergen, where the ruthless pursuit of the giants of the sea was fast reducing the stock, especially of the larger and more valuable animals. Throughout the century the distinction is maintained between Straat Davis and Greenland or Spitzbergen navigators. The intimate knowledge, which the Dutch possessed of the configuration of the west coast appears, as mentioned in vol. I., from Feykes Haan's instructive description of Straat Davis and Disko Bay.

The Dutch vessels, which visited Straat Davis within the period 1719 to 1770, were chiefly equipped in Amsterdam, Zaandam, Rotterdam, Oostzaan and Westzaan, Zaandijk, Dordrecht and de Rijk, and the captains generally availed themselves of the eastern breezes which spring up in the North Sea at early Easter, so that they might be in the strait in the month of April before the icebergs began to go adrift. As a rule they left home at the end of February or the beginning of March, the chief thing being to be first in the field. For these voyages they principally used galliots and howkers, but also pinks and busses (small herring schooners). A new type of galliot with ships'boats, cardels (i. e. Dutch: *quardeel*, an oil receiver containing about 64 gallons of oil) and the necessary equipment for whaling cost in Holland at least 6000 gulden. As a rule such a vessel had a crew of ten men; the cruise was calculated to last seven months for which period provisions were supplied, and the wages for the whole period amounted to 1855 gulden.

A distinction is made between the Straat Davis vessels which were equipped for whaling and such as also traded with the natives. The latter, as a rule large galliots, carried a *cargaison* (merchandise) which principally consisted of striped and sprigged shirts of the poorest quality, hose, mittens, brass and tin kettles, knives, awls, bodkins, shoemaker's thread, fish hooks and glass beads; furthermore, wooden trays, laths, boards and chests. In the course of time guns gradually became the article in most request. For a shirt the Dutch generally demanded 1½ barrel of blubber or two reindeer-skins; for three knives, with angles and needles thrown in, a foxskin. The amount of native produce acquired by a Dutch vessel in 1732 was 70 cardels of blubber, a large quantity of whalebone, a few sealskins and more than 500 foxskins. The minimum value of a cardel of blubber was 50 gulden at the auctions, which took place in Holland, while a good foxskin fetched 1—2 gulden. As a rule the Dutch also brought back some barrels of salted salmon.

The places where the Dutch set up their "shops" were situated in the area between lat. 65° and 70°, and here they had their harbours, *viz.* the

populous Narssamiut, Nipisat, Amerdloq, Isortoq, the centres of the whale-fishery, Rifkol, a dangerous neighbourhood where many Dutch vessels had been wrecked, and Rode-Bay with Makelyk Oud (Jacobshavn). How widely the bartering of the Dutch spread along the west coast appears from a report, made in 1729 by an assistant trader, of an expedition to South Fiske Fiord (Fiskernæsset) with a "Dutch" harbour from the olden times. Everywhere there was abundance of Dutch merchandise; in one house, only, a dozen of brass kettles of different kinds, pewter bowls, varicoloured shirts, trousers, hats, various carpenters' tools, even cups and saucers and other small gear of the kind hung up in the shops in great quantities for decorative purposes. Governor Paars reports at the same time that as soon as a Dutch vessel was expected or was lying off shore, the Greenlanders crowded in hundreds to the Dutch harbour. In 1729 five Dutch vessels left Nûk (Godthaab) with heavy cargoes.

The reports on the relations between the Dutch and the natives are contradictory. Feykes Haan who, in 1720, writes about the customs, dwellings, clothing and occupations of the Greenlanders and extols their many virtues, particularly their peaceable relations among themselves, nevertheless calls attention to their thievish disposition and mentions several acts of murderous assault and manslaughter, committed by the natives on his countrymen.

A direct accusation against the Dutch skippers is implied in the Letters Patent, issued in 1720 by the States General. "Inasmuch as it has come to the knowledge of those concerned," these Letters Patent read, "that skippers navigating Straat Davis and the coasts encircling it have not hesitated to act hostilely towards the inhabitants, without any offence on their part, and to attack and rob them of their possessions, nay, even to use violence against them, so that some have been wounded and others killed, the States General enjoin that every sailor who molests, attacks, or robs the natives of their possessions shall forfeit his wages and, eventually, in proportion to his misdeeds shall be punished as a pirate and public perpetrator of violence."

Letters of this kind did not do much towards safeguarding the Greenlanders against acts of violence, and their complaints never reached the highly influential merchants at the Hague, nor was it, in all probability, due to a humane feeling, but rather to the circumstance that rival shipowners and their captains accused each other of acts of violence against the natives, who became more and more afraid of them. Meanwhile trade declined; Feykes Haan, in 1720, complains that trade is bad, and he adds that one should not expect much from it, as it has been rendered much more difficult, and "nowadays" it is necessary to pay far too much for the commodities of the Greenlanders." The cause of this is the excessively great number of expeditions to the country "by which we have left ourselves stranded."

As far as whaling was concerned, this complaint was at any rate not

justified. Within the decade 1719 to 1728 the Davis Strait was, in all, navigated by 748 vessels which together obtained 1250 whales or on an average of 125 a year, the net profit being calculated at 1.350.000 gulden.

THE GREENLAND TRADE UNDER THE BERGEN COMPANY (1720—1728).

As mentioned in the history of the voyages of discovery, it was Hans Egede, by his initiative and wonderful perseverance, who caused the trade with Greenland to be resumed. This was done by means of a joint-stock company which was founded in Bergen, about the time of the conclusion of the Great Northern War, and the object of this company was a combination of trade and navigation on one hand, and the colonization and Christianizing of the country on the other.

When, on the last day of the year of 1711, Hans Egede sent his memorial on the conversion and instruction of the heathen Greenlanders to the King, the navigation on Greenland which had been started by the shipowners mentioned beforehand, *viz.* Hans Mathias, von Bärenfels and Magnus Schiøtte was still going on, but when in 1717 he renounced his charge in order to devote himself to what had become the ruling idea of his life, this enterprise had been abandoned. He settled in Bergen as the best place for collecting information about Greenland, and in the hope of being able to prevail "upon Christian minds once more to resume the navigation of the coast of Greenland and to establish a settlement and a trading station in the country."

During a stay in Copenhagen, in the autumn of 1719, Hans Egede succeeded in interesting the Mission College and the King in his cause, and on November 19th an order was issued to the authorities of Bergen that they should summon the merchants of that town in order to ask their opinion whether any of them would be willing to undertake the establishment and organization of the trade with Greenland.

Magnus Schiøtte proved of great assistance to the cause, and he persuaded the biggest men of commerce to come to a meeting in his house, where Hans Egede stated his plans. In the winter and spring of 1720—21, they succeeded in realizing the project, in spite of the scarcity of money and the losses incurred by former enterprises. The necessary capital was subscribed by forty-eight men of all classes, the total amount being 5100 rigsdaler¹ in shares of 300 to 50 rigsdaler. Hans Egede himself led the way by subscribing 300 rigsdaler, however, without giving his name, and the others then followed his lead. In June, 1720, the joint-stock company addressed a petition to the King, asking him to support the enterprise, the

¹ a rigsdaler = 2 kroner or 2 sh. 3 d.

costs of which were estimated at 12—16.000 rigsdaler, partly by issuing prohibitions against the trade of the Dutch on Greenland, partly by granting the company the monopoly and free trade in the country, as well as exemption from duties on articles of import and export, and what was necessary for the equipment of the trading vessels. The Danish authorities, however, only granted the last point, and that not until a year after the petition had been handed in.

The company appointed four directors, Captain Robert Davidsen Faye, Magnus Schiötte, Jeân von der Lippe, and Jens Fæster; when Faye died, soon after the establishment of the company, Schiötte was appointed first director, and Jens Andersen Refdahl became the fourth director, the latter also undertaking the honorary task of accountant and treasurer.

At the end of the year it was agreed that three vessels should be sent up to Strait Davis in the spring, *viz.* a pink which was bought at the expense of the company and sheathed for navigation in the ice, a galliot and a howker, both of those with cargoes. The howker was supplied with everything required for whaling, such as lances, harpoons, lines, blubber casks, ships' boats, and was manned with twelve harpooners. It was the idea that the howker should leave at an earlier date than the other two vessels, proceed to the whaling area in Disko Bay, and, after having finished fishing, it should run down the coast to look for the pink, which was rechristened the "Haabet", and which, together with the small galliot, was to carry Hans Egede, his family and the men chosen to winter in Greenland to their destination.

The directors of the newly founded company had shown great care in the appointment of captains and crews for the vessels, as well as in their equipment and provisioning. The captain of the "Haabet" was an experienced sailing master, and the mate had formerly been in the Straat Davis trade, while the crew consisted of eleven men in all, partly from Bergen and its environs, partly from the most northerly districts of Norway. The members of the land party who were to found the settlement and winter in Greenland, twenty-two men all told, were artisans—carpenters, coopers, joiners, masons and fishermen—and in addition there were three women, who were to help in the household work. Hartvig Jentoft, the son of a clergyman at Lofoten, was appointed accountant at the projected establishment, and the land party further included a surgeon.

The leader and commander of the whole expedition, Hans Egede, was given instructions by the company, according to which he was to superintend the works in connection with the building of the winter-house, and also the carrying on of trade and whale-fishery. As soon as the galliot arrived, it was at once to be sent out to trade with and reconnoitre the surrounding district, to ship the native produce which had been acquired by barter and to return in the summer together with the howker when it arrived there from the north, while the "Haabet" was to winter in Greenland and in the

spring to sail back to Bergen. Hans Egede had been instructed to call a council on board and ashore whenever necessary, which council was to consist of himself, the captain, the accountant, the mate, the boatswain and the cook, who were to make decisions according to the instructions given. The captain had received orders to shape his course for the north or the south of the Faroes and directly for Straat Davis, and following the directions given by Feykes Haan, he was, on their arrival in lat. $64^{\circ} 15' N.$, to anchor in a place indicated by the council and there to unload the vessel and to lend a hand in the first preparations towards building the winter-house. Every one on board had received orders to treat the natives kindly and not to trade with them privately.

Considering the small space and the modest means at the disposal of the company great care had been shown in getting together everything that was required for the building and arrangement of the house, ammunition and winter provisions, which the colonizers were to add to themselves, by what they were able to shoot and catch ashore. In pursuance of the information gathered from the Dutch and Bergen traders in Greenland, they were amply supplied with articles to be given in exchange for native produce, such as brass- and tin kettles, tin boxes with wax images and cups, snuff boxes, sword blades, knives and scissors, sewing needles, pins, hooks and eyes and buttons for shirts; further, gold and silver tinsel, coloured glass beads and balls, whistles and all sorts of German toys. The building materials, fishing implements and the greater part of the provisions were loaded in the "Haabet," the remainder in the galliot.

The howker started on February 13th, but the "Haabet" and the galliot did not set off until May 12th. The winds being favourable, Statenhuk was sighted on June 3rd, and then, in order to extricate themselves from the ice, they had to shape their course towards the west. On Midsummerday they were in great danger, owing to a heavy gale; on July 2nd, when they were very close to the shore, they met a Dutch skipper who, at Egede's request, obligingly gave him one of his own sailors who was familiar with the country and the language of the natives, taking back in his stead one of Egede's men who wanted to return. And this Dutchman safely piloted the men, who were opening the competition against his own nation, ashore in lat. $64^{\circ} 7' N.$ in Baal's Rivier, where Hall and Danell had hoisted the Danish flag. For several days Egede and his men looked for a convenient building site, until at last they decided in favour of the island—presumably the very locality of Hall's "Harbour of Hope"—which by Egede was baptized Haabets Ø (i. e. the island of hope) and was situated to the north of the present outpost Kangeq. The house, which had two chimneys and fifteen windows was built of turf and stone, lined on the inside with boards and divided into three rooms for the use of Egede and his family, as well as the accountant and the land party. While the building of the house was going on, the

natives showed their kindly disposition by helping to carry stones and timber.

On July 19th the galliot left for home, bringing the glad tidings that the settlement was founded and that all were safe and lived in friendly relations with the natives. The course of the howker had been less favorable, for on its way to Greenland it had met with heavy storms off Cape Farewell; the vessel had been so seriously damaged that it drifted about as a wreck and only, by a miracle, reached Bergen late in the autumn with all on board in safety.

The news of Hans Egede's successful landing created a stir everywhere in Europe, and this was the only comfort held out to the shareholders of the Bergen Company for the total economic failure of the expedition. All the galliot brought home was half a barrel of seal oil, which had been obtained underway from the Eskimos. The reason was partly that the Dutch traders had already been ashore and had left nothing behind, and partly that the crews had been so busy that they had had no time for whaling or fishing.

In 1722 the company again sent up two vessels, loaded with materials and provisions for an emergency in case they should be prevented from reaching the settlement, owing to obstacles from the ice or sea-damage. The total cost of the equipment was 7000 rigsdaler. The excitement with which people in Bergen were looking forward to news from the new settlement and how the first winter in Greenland had passed was allayed, when the "Haabet" returned in the early summer, with the tidings that all the settlers were well. However, all that this vessel brought back in the way of produce, was 25 barrels of blubber, 160 fox- and sealskins and a few pieces of whale-bone, which together fetched 250 rigsdaler; also the vessels sent out in the spring returned in safety, but with even smaller cargoes. After unloading at the settlement one of these vessels had gone south to trade and to investigate the coast, but without attaining any result worth mentioning; the other, which had tried to fulfil the same task in a northern direction, could not make any headway owing to continual contrary winds, and so it shaped its course homewards.

There were letters from Egede containing proposals for the sending up of a better class of merchandise, and such as were more to the liking of the Greenlanders than the German toys, with which the Dutch lured them. He further maintained that it was necessary to get a sea-worthy vessel, the materials for which could be sent up ready to be put together; with these, trips could be made in spring and autumn to the whaling grounds in the large system of fiords near the present Holsteinsborg, thus forestalling the Dutch both by fishing and by acquiring native produce. As to the situation of the present settlement Egede fully realized that it was not merely unhealthy, but also unfavourable in point of communication with the outer

world. He had investigated the region round Baal's Rivier and in Præste Fiord, so named by him; on the south side of Ameralik Fiord he had found a situation, which was favourable in every respect, with a good harbour and building site, easy access to hunting and fishing in the neighbourhood, pastures for cattle and even for experiments at land cultivation. In conclusion he proposed that the company should send in a petition to the King for a grant of a general collection in favour of the work in Greenland.

The share-holders of the company had been obliged to make further contributions to cover expenses, which at the end of the year amounted to 13,867 rigsdaler, and after the return of the vessels they declared that it would be necessary to give up the undertaking, unless the King came to their assistance.

In the same autumn the directors renewed their petition to the King regarding a monopoly of trade and whaling for a period of twenty-five years, for exemption from customs' duties, prohibition against foreign trade with Greenland and permission to open a lottery.

The company was so fortunate as to find the most active support for its petition in the person of Frederik Rostgaard, Chief Secretary in the Danish Chancery (Home Secretary), who was married to the illegitimate sister of the Queen of Denmark. On February 5th, 1723, the King issued a charter, by which all the favours mentioned in the petition were granted. The company was given the exclusive right of trading on Greenland from Cape Farewell, which, from now, was to be called Cape Christian, and farther north along the entire coast for a period of twenty-five years, and also the right to seize all foreign vessels which approached the coast within 4 miles of the skerries extending farthest into the sea. However, this prohibition could naturally not be asserted against the numerous and well-equipped Dutchmen, except by force of arms, which could only be applied by means of a fort, and therefore the company was granted permission to establish such a fort in the place best suited for the purpose.

The company had further proposed that an order should be issued for everyone to take tickets in a lottery for the benefit of the Greenland enterprise, so that anyone possessing 200 rigsdaler was bound to buy one ticket, anyone possessing 400 rigsdaler two tickets and so forth, and that all towns and owners of houses and freehold farms were to contribute according to their ability. This rather exacting proposal was, it is true, not granted, but at the same time that the various privileges were conferred upon the company, it was given permission to open a lottery with 100,000 tickets of 1 rigsdaler each and only 219 prizes, while the governor and magistrates of Bergen received orders to assist the company.

The favours obtained inspired the shareholders of the Bergen Company with new courage and enterprise. A letter of invitation was issued, and collectors for the lottery were put into motion; but the vessels for the

navigation of the following year must be equipped before the end of April, and the concession for the lottery was only given in February; therefore, the funds of the company being now entirely exhausted, the directors had to raise a loan of 7700 rigsdaler against bonds until the lottery was complete. Three vessels were equipped with a large cargo of supplies and articles of trade. One of these vessels was to call at the settlement and then to proceed on a reconnoitring trip, the object of which was to found a new settlement at Syd Bay and to investigate the possibilities of whaling in Disko Bay. The other vessel was to winter at the settlement and then, with the coming of spring, to proceed at once to the whaling district. Together with the third vessel, a snow, it should first shape its course towards the large bay on the west side of Greenland, which on the Dutch map was marked approximately in the latitude of Baal's Rivier. The two vessels kept together as far as Cape Farewell, no doubt greatly hindered by the ice, but there the snow was separated from its companion ship by a heavy gale and nothing was heard of it.

The year, however, brought further losses and disappointments, the one returning vessel only carrying 32 cardels of seal oil, 12 barrels of blubber, 370 foxskins, 56 sealskins and a little whalebone.

In letters to the directors Hans Egede expressed his disappointment that the trading had again failed, this time because the merchandise gave out too early, but supplies now being more plentiful, it was to be hoped that it would prove more succesful in the future. He further proposed to found the settlement planned as far north as Disko Bay and another south of Godthaab.

In 1724 the Bergen Company equipped three vessels for Greenland. The first of these was to undertake the task, which had not been fulfilled in the preceding year, *viz.* to go as far north as possible in order to try to do remunerative trade, and also to reconnoitre the country, *inter alia* the coal beds in northern Greenland. The second vessel was to take provisions to the settlement and then to cross over to the American coast, Baffin Land, which was nearest to Baal's Rivier, to fetch timber and wood for the settlement, where there was a scarcity of these articles. The third vessel was equipped for whaling and was to cruise along the drift-ice off the east coast of Greenland.

The result of these cruises was the establishment of Nipisat at Syd Bay, close to the present Holsteinsborg, where one of the vessels was to spend the winter and then in the following year to go out whaling. The vessel bound for Baffin Land did not reach its destination, as the coast from lat. 66°—71° N. was covered with ice, and it then proceeded in a northern direction to look for a site to found a settlement.

In their financial distress the directors of the Bergen Company resolved to let one of the vessels returning from Greenland proceed from Bergen to

Copenhagen, taking on board the accountant of the settlement and the zealous director, Refdahl. On their arrival at Copenhagen they were to try and obtain an audience of Rostgaard and the King and, this being achieved, earnestly call their attention to the work in Greenland and the economic inability of the company, with a view to make his Majesty render new and active assistance. Rostgaard, who again proved a warm supporter of the cause, approved and further elaborated a programme which had been made up with great care and foresight by the directors, *viz.* to let two young Greenlanders who were onboard the vessel appear before the Royal family and the court in their national costumes and give a performance of their national sports.

As the birthday of the King fell upon the day after their arrival, the Greenlanders were immediately taken to Frederiksborg Castle, where they made part of the programme for the festival, and shortly afterwards, on the birthday of the King's brother, Prince Karl, they entertained him with kayak-paddling and duck-hunting on Esrom Lake. On November 9th the inhabitants of Copenhagen, who had not seen Eskimos since 1654, witnessed the "Greenland Procession," a regatta along the canals encircling Christiansborg Castle. It was opened by gaily decorated barges, the first of these with a brass band, the second with the Admiral of the Royal Dockyard, Director Refdahl, and the accountant of the settlement; the third with the master of the Royal Choir who sang arias, accompanied by the Royal violoncos. Then came the chief performers, the two Greenlanders, who from their kayaks flung darts at ducks which had been put out in the canals. The regatta concluded with six barges, containing Greenland produce which was suspended from the masts—skins of bears, seals and reindeer, whalebone and horns of "unicorns" as well as gaily coloured pictures representing Greenlandic animals and hunting scenes.

The Greenland procession, witnessed by large and warmly enthusiastic crowds, was the first floating colonial exhibition in Denmark, and excellently arranged on perfectly up-to-date lines for the double purpose of propagating the trade and mission of Greenland. It was perpetuated in illustrated pamphlets as well as in instructive ballads and sacred songs, which appealed to the "generosity of Christian people." Ladies embroidered the procession in silk; the two Greenlanders were painted several times, and their pictures hung in the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities. All in all, it was advertisement on a very large scale which did not fail to take effect. On December 15th the King promised to assist the Bergen Company by the completion of the lottery, as well as by collections and in other ways, not only because "his heart had been moved by the Christian work which had been begun in that far-off country", but also because the navigation of Greenland, as a province of his realm and crown, ought to be continued for the benefit of his subjects.

On March 16th, 1725, the King issued a rescript empowering the Bergen Company to draw 20.000 tickets in the lottery, and he enjoined on all his subjects in Denmark and Norway, irrespective of rank and social status, civilian and military, ecclesiastical and secular—peasants only excepted—to contribute according to their ability. In every diocese commissioners were appointed to estimate how much could be given by each district. The civil authorities were enjoined to collect the amounts which were to be paid in three instalments, *viz.* June 1st, September 1st and December 1st. Simultaneously with the orders in council relating to the so-called “favour” in the shape of an extra tax and the drawing of the lottery, the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Bergen were appointed to take charge of the amounts collected.

Thus encouraged, the directors of the Bergen Company again sent up two vessels to Greenland. The year 1725 denotes the climax of their activity, and from then onwards it seemed possible to count on gradually, though slowly, increasing profit on the Greenland trade. In the report which Egede, at their own request, addressed to the directors of the company, he advised them to establish as soon as possible ten small stations along the coast, five north and five south of the settlement, at a distance 8—10 miles from each other, with traders and missionaries to keep the natives “under discipline”. The eastern settlement, which it was thought possible to reach by pushing the colonization farther and farther south, could best be approached by small vessels or boats.

The directors refused to consider these extensive plans, feeling all the less inclined to do so, as the new establishment, Nipisat, had proved anything but remunerative, and the first settlers had hardly left it, when the Dutch made their appearance and burnt the deserted buildings.

The year 1726, the last in which the Bergen Company sent up vessels to Greenland, sealed its fate. Until then the conditions under which the navigation took place, had been fairly satisfactory, but in that year the whole strait was filled with drift-ice until late in summer. For the second time in the annals of the Bergen Company the dangerous navigation entailed loss of life. The vessel which had been sent up in early spring under the command of the able captain Jens Falck, formerly the captain of “Haabel”, which, in 1721, carried Hans Egede to Greenland, was totally lost in the ice between Cape Farewell and the settlement; Greenlanders on their way towards the north had seen it hemmed in by the ice, and the crew standing on deck, knee-deep in water, but then the vessel had gone adrift from the shore and out of sight. Hans Egede was deeply moved by this news, and for a time he feared that the other vessel had suffered the same fate. The settlement was threatened with starvation, and in his distress he set out on the humiliating journey in a boat towards the north where the Dutch

were staying to try to persuade them to take home ten men from the settlement, which would reduce the number of residents to twenty-three. Provisions were giving out, and according to him they all would have starved to death, if on July 19th, the second vessel of the company had not safely reached the settlement.

It was, however, not merely adversity and accidents which hastened the dissolution of the company, but also dissensions among the directors. These quarrels had begun shortly after the issuance of the Royal Order regarding the lottery. It was a condition in the rescript that the inspectors appointed for the lottery should see to it that the funds anticipated should "hereafter only be used for the continuance of the missionary work and the trade." The inspectors disagreed about the meaning of the word "hereafter", two of them interpreting it in the way that the company was not permitted to pay the debts contracted in the years 1723—25, with the proceeds of the lottery, while the other two, together with the directors of the company, maintained that it was the intention of the King that the old debts should be paid off. In May 1725 Magnus Schiötte lodged a complaint with the chief secretary and the inspectors to the effect that he could not get the accounts of the company from his co-director Refdahl, who as already mentioned, also officiated as accountant and treasurer. Refdahl put the blame on the auditors, and the third director, von der Lippe, took his part. The situation became still more complicated, when the fourth director and collector of the lottery, Jens Fæster, who had always been considered a well-to-do man, died a bankrupt, and his estate became liable to the company for an amount of 1000 rigsdaler. Schiötte resigned his directorship, and during the following months stirred up the public by violent attacks on his former colleagues for mismanagement of the funds of the company. In May 1726 the remaining directors, von der Lippe and Refdahl, handed to the inspectors a list of the money collected in Bergen, amounting to 11.480 rigsdaler, out of which, with the permission of the inspectors, they had paid the company's debts from 1723 amounting to 8125 rigsdaler.

In January 1727 the King appointed a commission for the revision of the accounts of the Bergen Company, and they finished their task in November of the same year. But this did not end the matter, which dragged on for a number of years. In 1731 the magistrates of Bergen received orders to demand new accounts for 1723—28 from the former directors and the accountant of the company, which accounts were to be revised by the magistrates, and then handed in to the exchequer. The revision of the accounts relating to the proceeds of the lottery, which had been put out to interest in Bergen, was not finished until 1744.

Whatever the blame put on the Bergen Company for certain doubtful financial transactions, it still deserves to be mentioned in the history of Greenland for its zealous and self-sacrificing work, its brave fight against

adversity and shipwreck, its ingenuity and careful efforts to keep its hold on this remote arctic country, the motive power being the most upright and indefatigable will and intention.

THE ROYAL TRADE ON GREENLAND 1727—1733.

After the dissolution of the Bergen Company the King entrusted Magnus Schiøtte with the trade and navigation of Greenland (the Greenland “dessein”), and on May 1st, 1727, he received orders to equip and send up two vessels for the account of the King. Onboard one of these vessels was a Royal commissary, Christopher Jessen Petersen, who was to investigate conditions in Greenland and report as to whether it would be possible to carry on trade with profit, or whether the settlements should be given up. He accompanied Hans Egede on a journey to look at Nome (Nûk), the place east of the old dwelling on the continent, where the latter intended to establish a new settlement, and he approved of the plan, although the beautiful and spacious harbour lay at a considerable distance from the plain where the houses ought to be built. The commissary also went as far as Disko Bay, accompanied by the assistant trader, and he investigated the coal beds in that place and also the harbours used by the Dutch, *viz.* Rode Bay, Makelyk Oud and Virebay. On the strength of his observations Schiøtte addressed a proposal to the King for the establishment of a whaling station in Disko Bay, by which it was intended to prevent the Dutch from founding a new northern company with whale-fisheries in the bay. As a help towards defraying expenses Hans Egede proposed, as he had already done on an earlier occasion (1725), to tax the Greenlanders by making them give up a certain quantity of blubber in acknowledgement of the fact that the King defended them against the Dutch.

In January 1728 the King again issued an order to Schiøtte to equip two vessels for the trade on Greenland, with crews experienced in whale-fishing. The object was to improve the trade on Greenland and, in addition to articles of trade, the vessels carried provisions for 30—40 persons for a period of one year.

On May 31st three directors of the “Greenland affair” were appointed, among whom Magnus Schiøtte who, to all intents and purposes, became the managing director, and finally, in January 1729, the administration of Greenland was moved from Bergen to Copenhagen.

Furthermore, after thorough deliberations on the part of the chief naval authorities, an expedition on a large scale was equipped in Copenhagen. Its aim was to find and reconnoitre the eastern settlement, the old Eystribygd, which was supposed to be situated on the east coast, and to

assert the exclusive right of Denmark to do trade on Grenland by establishing one or more settlements and a fort in the country.

Two vessels were fitted out for the purpose, a merchant vessel, a transport loaded with timber, bricks and other materials for the construction of the fort and the building of the settlement, as well as twelve guns for the fort and twelve horses, which were to be used for the reconnoitring of the eastern settlement. The military expedition was to consist of a captain, three under-officers, a drummer, a provost-marshal and twenty-five volunteer soldiers. Major Claus Enevold Paars, the last descendent of an old but impoverished noble family, who had worked his way up from the ranks, and was now a man of about forty-five years of age, was appointed head of the expedition and was given the proud name of Governor of Greenland, while Captain Jørgen Landorph was appointed commander of the intended fort. Finally, it was resolved with a view "to people the country and found colonies" to take from the male and female houses of correction in Copenhagen twelve male and twelve female prisoners, who were to be married by the casting of lots, and this fatal and altogether objectionable resolution was carried into effect.

In the instructions to the Governor it was resolved that after arriving in Greenland he was to preside at a council which in addition to himself was to consist of the commander, Hans Egede, some of the officers of the wintering vessels, the trader, the accountant and the assistant trader. This council was to meet at least twice a week, and was partly to consider all measures for the benefit of the settlement and everything relating to the daily work and service, and partly to hold enquiries and give decisions in quarrels and doubtful cases.

Immediately before its departure the whole of this motley crowd, in their bright uniforms, were inspected on the riding grounds of Christiansborg Castle, and then the vessels set out for the remote coasts. On July 2nd they arrived and anchored near the dwelling of Hans Egede, and the Governor at once proceeded to inspect the new settlement, accompanied by Hans Egede, who on August 29th preached his first sermon there, and named the place "Godthaab". In spite of heavy rains the dwelling house was built before the end of September, and the Governor and Hans Egede moved in. Outside it a small bastion was erected with a flag staff and seven small guns, and this as well as the house has remained almost unchanged throughout two centuries. Also the house, intended for the soldiers and other members of the expedition, and built of turf and stone in two compartments was now finished, and so the first task, which had been entrusted to Major Paars, was carried out.

Apart from this, prospects were unfortunately anything but bright for the quickly erected settlement, which was now entering on its first winter. The hard and forced work had greatly weakened the newcomers. It had

been expected that the horses, which had been taken along, would have proved of great assistance, but this expectation had failed. Half of them had died onboard, owing to want of proper attention, and the remainder died, soon after their arrival, from overwork and want of care, so the men were obliged to carry all building materials on their backs; and this together with the hard, stony soil and the unreasonably long working hours greatly taxed their strength. Moreover the buildings were damp, without bedsteads or bedding; the blankets which they wrapped themselves up in at night, rotted, and then they were obliged to sleep in their wearing apparel, which was soon worn out and dirty; also the food was bad and insufficient, chiefly consisting of salt meat.

All of these hardships gave rise to increasing discontent and insubordination among the former prisoners, who by their scandalous behaviour entirely broke down the respect of the Greenlanders for the Danes. It became necessary to keep watch every night in order to prevent open mutiny, and at the same time an attempt was made to conciliate the angry crowd by festivals and drinking bouts, the largest of which was held on the birthday of the King, and lasted for twenty-four hours. Shortly afterwards a serious scurvy epidemic broke out, against which the surgeon of the settlement was entirely helpless, and the ranks of the new-comers began to thin out. The total number of deaths in the course of the winter was forty-five men and women. At last there were not enough survivors to bury the dead, and so it became necessary to sew them up in their bunks and leave the dead bodies in a shed until the spring. By the death of the mutineers the Governor, Hans Egede and the officers were saved from falling victims to a plot, the object of which was to kill them and then to try to escape in a foreign vessel.

The chief military authorities of the settlement unfortunately set a very bad example. Major Paars himself was a man of a very weak character; sometimes he tried to assert the rights of his high position towards Landorph, who was brutal and domineering, and at other times he begged his pardon in the most abject manner. The constant quarrels between the two men at times degenerated into open fights, while the quarrelling spirit gradually spread to those around them, until it was felt as a relief, when in April Major Paars set out on his expedition on the inland ice.

The council agreed that no fort was required at Godthaab, which did not lie at the outer coast but in the interior of a fiord, and so it was resolved to place it in the centre of the whale-fishery, Nipisat, which had been destroyed by the Dutch. In August Paars and Landorph, with the surviving soldiers and settlers, went up to the place designated, and there they built a large stone building with two wings and a storehouse for provisions. In front of the buildings two batteries with guns were erected, and Landorph and the garrison were now stationed there together with a couple

of traders and a missionary, while Paars returned to Godthaab in the autumn. Nipisat, however, did not fulfil the expectations entertained of it, as the whaling failed and the Dutch usurped the trade with the natives.

After having spent the winter at Godthaab, Paars in March, 1730, proceeded to Nipisat. Relations between him and Landorph were as bad as ever, with constant and scandalous quarrels which were bound to demoralise the population. The news which the Government in Copenhagen had received of conditions at the fort, as well as the state of the trade which, although it yielded a steadily increasing profit on whaling, sealing, and skins, was by no means sufficient to cover expenses, resulted in a Royal Ordinance of May, 1730, by which Paars and Landorph and the soldiers and settlers were recalled; only the Godthaab settlement was to be maintained, and in the following year it was the intention to extend it with twelve Icelandic families, who were willing to settle there, but this attempt was soon given up. These tidings only reached Nipisat with the vessel which was sent up there in the spring of 1731, and the same vessel brought the news of the death of King Frederik IV, which had taken place in the preceding autumn; it also brought an order from his successor that all residents in Greenland, as well as materials, provisions and produce should be taken home. Hans Egede was given the choice whether he preferred to go home or to stay in the country with as many people as he was able to persuade to winter at Godthaab. In the latter case the captain of the vessel was to deliver to him the necessary quantity of provisions and ammunition, and Hans Egede decided to stay on these conditions, at any rate for a year.

The Governor and commander with the remaining officers, soldiers, settlers and traders returned to Denmark, and thus ended a chapter in the history of Greenland—at the same time grotesque and tragical—which was by no means to the honour of Denmark. A visible memory of Major Paars' short administration of Greenland are the walls of the buildings erected there, which were burnt down by the Dutch immediately after his return to Denmark.

Nevertheless, in spite of all mistakes and all difficulties, the trade on Greenland was progressing and held out hopes of proving remunerative, as is shown by the proceeds from the auctions of the products brought home by the vessels in 1731. The one cargo, which comprised blubber, foxskins, sealskins, and whalebone fetched 1161 rigsdaler, the other, consisting of 248 casks of blubber, 330 sealskins, 173 foxskins, 100 reinskins, and 532 pieces of whalebone fetched in all 4530 rigsdaler.

The winter of 1731—32, the eleventh which Hans Egede spent in Greenland, became the saddest and most wearying of all. His many boat voyages in the district, undertaken with the double purpose of instructing the natives and purchasing skins, had weakened him, and he suffered much from cold and pains in his chest, while at the same time he was oppressed with

sorrow at seeing the work to which he had devoted his life frustrated by his imminent return. His brave wife faithfully assisted him in taking care of the stores, when he and their indefatigable son Niels, who commanded the second boat of the settlement, were away from home.

The change which within a very short time took place in the attitude of King Christian VI towards the Greenland mission and trade, now entirely bound up with each other, was partly due to Hans Egede's earnest and eloquent appeal, and partly to the representation of his colleague, the missionary Ole Lange, who, in an audience with the King, warmly seconded this appeal. A contributory, and not the least potent cause, was the influence exercised on the pious monarch by Count N. L. Zinzendorff, the founder of the Moravian Brethren who in the spring of 1731 visited Copenhagen.

On September 19th (1731) the King issued Letters Patent relating to the further continuance of the trade on Greenland. It was therein mentioned that it was a well known fact that the King's deceased father had attempted to spread the true faith among the heathen in Greenland, with the result that more than two hundred families among the inhabitants of the country had been instructed in the Christian faith: likewise he had striven to establish a profitable and lasting trade with that country, and there was no doubt that, the right arrangements being concluded, it might be continued with great advantage. However, it would be possible to carry on trade with greater profit and foresight through a joint-stock company than at the expense of the Crown. And therefore the King made his intention known publicly, in order that all subjects who felt any inclination to engage in this trade, might become interested in such a company and subscribe for a share with the deputies of the Commissariat General of the Royal Navy. The King himself was willing to engage financially in this venture and to grant favourable privileges to the company. As all this was not merely aiming at the advance and prosperity of the trade, but also at the conversion of the heathen, the King entertained no doubt that the "merchants and other of his subjects would follow his example and engage in this enterprise, and thus advance a work of a Christian and useful nature."

Immediately after this step, the King gave instructions to the Commissariat General of the Royal Navy, in concert with the Mission College, to negotiate with "sensible merchants" of the town as to the manner in which the Greenland enterprise might best be started. After the preliminary reports on the question had been received in the course of the winter, the King on March 17th, 1732, issued orders to the Mission College and the Commissariat General to convene with some of the best merchants of Copenhagen in order to discuss whether the mission could be continued with success; whether the mission and the trade were able to give mutual support to each other; what would be the costs of this twofold enterprise, and finally whether the merchants were willing to take part in it. In May

and June answers were received from three of the most highly respected merchants of the town, and among those was Jacob Severin.

This interesting man, so full of enterprise and initiative, who was destined to play a prominent part in the history of Greenland, was born (1691) in Sæby in northern Jutland, the son of the sheriff of that town. In 1706 he graduated at the University, with the intention of becoming a clergyman. However, he soon inclined to a commercial career, and this bent was further strengthened by his marriage, when only twenty-two years of age, with a woman who was his senior by forty years. She was the widow of a well-to-do Icelandic merchant, and by the means which came to him through her, no less than by his own ability and enterprise, he quickly established a position among the merchants of Copenhagen. He worked up a remunerative trade on Iceland and the Faroe Islands, and in 1729 he and two other big Copenhagen merchants obtained the exclusive right to carry on trade on the Finmark; in the same year he was made a member of the council consisting of thirty-two citizens, and later on the president of that council.

Severin was of opinion that the mission could and should be continued, and that it would be possible to maintain it alongside the trade and to their mutual support. He estimated the expenses of the planned establishment of lodges or trading stations at a sum of 12—16,000 rigsdaler once for all, as well as an annual government grant for the maintenance of the mission. He concluded his report with the following pithy remark: "In the history of all times and throughout the world, no example can be adduced of such an honest and Christian trade as this one."

The negotiations with Severin for the taking over of the Greenland trade and mission went on during the winter. By a Royal Letter of March 4th, 1733, Egede was granted permission to stay in the country for another year, and orders were given for the equipment of a vessel with the necessary provisions, articles of trade and materials. A Royal Letter of April 14th further communicated to Egede that it had been resolved to support the mission work with a yearly grant of 2000 rigsdaler, and in the following year to carry on the trade with greater energy than hitherto. On May 20th Egede received the welcome tidings that the work on Greenland which had been in abeyance for two years, was now to be taken up afresh.

In the summer of 1733 Severin resolved to reconnoitre hitherto unknown harbours and localities in Greenland. The reconnoitring was done by means of his own vessels and extended in the north as far as midway of Vaigat, in the south as far as Pâmiut (the later Frederikshaab) in lat. 61° N. On-board one of the vessels was Severin's brother-in-law, M. Fersleff, who had already made a name for himself by reconnoitring trips to Greenland. On the strength of the experience gained in the course of this voyage, Severin, in a detailed report, set forth his plans regarding the continuance and extension of the Greenland trade and mission. In the following a resumé

will be given of this report, which was submitted to the King on February 2nd, 1734.

The hopes of the foreign merchants were chiefly centred round the traffic in Disko Bay, where a greater number of Greenlanders were assembled than in any other locality along the coast to Cape Farewell. The safest and best way of making the natives give up the habit of dealing with the foreigners was to found a mission and trading station in Disko Bay, with merchandise to be sold at the cheapest possible price. If all trade with native produce were centralized in this place, the foreign merchants would also abandon their traffic farther south, as in that case it would hardly be worth their while. For the establishment of this new settlement with dwellings, provisions, wages, light and fuel for two missionaries, a barber, a clerk and an assistant trader as well as for the upkeep of the Godthaab settlement Severin stipulated a yearly sum of 3000 rigsdaler for the first three years, and then for the next three years 2000 rigsdaler annually, as well as everything in the way of stores and merchandise which were still left at Godthaab. The missionaries and the traders at the old settlement were to receive their usual wages until the day when Severin's vessels arrived in the place, from which moment all payments and also the transport home of those who in his opinion were unfit for the work, should take place at his expense. All missionaries—and he reserved for himself the right to select and propose these—and traders were after four to six years of creditable service to be given suitable employment at home, while all privates enrolled in the Army or Navy—both those who went up there and those who came back—were to be exempt from taxes and all other burdens. The missionaries should be enjoined to accomodate themselves to the traders who in their turn were instructed, as far as possible, to conform to the mission. All commodities which were carried to and from Greenland should be exempt from dues, customs and excise, and the vessels employed in the trade should be provided with an admiralty certificate.

As the head of the mission in Disko Bay Severin had his attention directed towards Poul Egede. If the mission were to be brought to a succesful issue, it was necessary to establish more stations both north and south of Godthaab. To defray expenses Severin proposed to open a lottery, after the manner of the Copenhagen one; from the proceeds of this the King might then retain the 2000 rigsdaler annually, which had been granted to Severin.

On the conditions mentioned, Severin professed himself willing to undertake the Greenland trade for a period of six years, and after all his claims had been approved by the Treasury and the Mission College, the King on March 16th, 1734, issued a charter by which the navigation of Greenland was given to Jacob Severin for a period of six years.

THE MONOPOLY TRADE UNDER JACOB SEVERIN 1734—50.

In 1734 Severin opened the navigation of Greenland by sending three vessels to that country. The first of these which arrived in Godthaab on June 15th, brought to Hans Egede the King's message that Jacob Severin had been empowered to carry on the Greenland trade and navigation. The fact that everything had been left, not to a joint-stock company, but to one man who had so many things to attend to, naturally filled Egede with great misgivings, all the more as conditions in Greenland at that time were extremely difficult, almost hopeless, owing to an epidemic of small-pox which had been brought to the country by a Greenlander returning there from Copenhagen, and which in the course of the winter had carried off about 1200 individuals, over a distance of 20 miles to the north and 10 miles to the south of the settlement, the nearest and best trading places thus having been laid waste. Hans Egede who was broken in spirit and body at seeing his life's work destroyed, and utterly tired out by the superhuman efforts he had made in nursing the sick and preventing the infection from spreading, considered the cause of the mission lost and was determined to go home. By the order of the Commissioners General of the Navy a survey was undertaken, on June 19th, of the buildings, fixtures and stores of the settlement, which the trader then surrendered to Niels Egede, who, as the agent of Severin, took over the settlement. This being done, the vessel proceeded to Disko Bay to trade with the natives on Severin's account, and to put ashore the building materials for the new settlement. The second vessel was bound directly for Disko, with Poul Egede and the first missionary of that place, A. Bing, while the third, a galliot, which had been chartered in Flensburg carried the greater part of the building material for the houses of the settlement. All three vessels met in Disko Bay, and after a convenient harbour had been found and a site for the settlement, the dwelling houses were erected. On June 25th the establishment, which was called by the name of Christianshaab, was solemnly inaugurated by Poul Egede, who soon afterwards left for Godthaab to assist his father, while Fersleff remained in charge of the trading station together with J. Hiort, the former trader at Godthaab.

The news from the Godthaab settlement naturally had a very depressing effect on Severin. During the first year the navigation of Greenland brought him a loss of 5000 rigsdaler. Of the three vessels which had been sent up with full cargoes, the smallest one returned with half a cargo, and the other two empty. On the plea that his credit was utterly ruined, Severin applied for an additional annual grant of 1000 rigsdaler, beyond what had been stipulated in the charter, as well as a loan of 8000 rigsdaler against a mortgage on his Copenhagen house and premises.

Severin's hopes were, however, somewhat raised by the news which reached him from the Godthaab settlement in the summer of 1735. In the course of the past year thirty Greenlanders had migrated there from other parts of the country, and its situation being so propitious to trade, there was every reason to suppose that it would gradually be able to recover from the set-back. Owing to the ill health of his wife, Hans Egede had not availed himself of the permission granted him by the King to go home, but had determined to remain in the country for another winter. From the report of the traders there, Christianshaab proved to be the best and most profitable post in Greenland, as the Greenlanders came there in great numbers to dispose of their produce, and at the same time were eager to hear the word of God. It was further reported that twelve or thirteen small vessels had already made their appearance in the bay, most of them Dutch, but a few also from Hamburg and Altona. The Dutch continued to violate the Greenlanders, particularly by seizing their blubber or offering them what payment they themselves thought fit, and the traders tried in vain to confront them with the Letters Patent of 1720. Severin begged the King to lodge a protest with the States General to the effect that the Dutch merchants who equipped vessels for the Greenland trade should be requested to refrain from trading with the Greenlanders, who lived on both sides of, and at a distance of 10 miles from the settlements which had already been founded or were to be founded in the future, and also to enforce the instructions contained in the above-mentioned Letters Patent. Furthermore, he petitioned that a small armed vessel should be sent up to Disko Bay the following summer, with the object of defending the settlement and its trade within the said boundaries. It was his intention to found a summer lodge for the missionaries, 7 to 8 miles north of Christianshaab, in the neighbourhood of the Dutch "Makelijk Oud" where the Greenlanders assembled in greatest numbers in summer, so that the missionaries might begin their instruction in that place and then persuade the natives to visit them and take up their winter abode at the settlement. Besides, he intended to establish a similar summer lodge on Bonke Eilander (the present Egedesminde).

The King readily granted the requests of Severin, in the first place by making known through the customs officials at Altona, Bergen and Ribe that no one was allowed to encroach upon Severin's monopoly of the navigation of Greenland. In the summer of 1736 the frigate "Blaahejren" was sent up to Disko Bay with Captain B. de Fontenay in command. To the north of Godthaab he pursued four whaling ships, hailed them and acquainted them with the order of the King; the same course was taken off Disko with a Dutchman who had traded with the natives in Sydost Bay, and also two others, who had entered the bay at Makelijk Oud. When the rumour spread of the arrival of the man-of-war, all foreign vessels left Disko Bay for Voigat and neutral waters.

Severin was extremely dissatisfied with the result of the expedition, and in January, 1737, he sent in a detailed account of the difficulties which attended his work in Greenland. He had calculated first to *make a loss*, especially by the establishment of Christianshaab, then to *balance*; afterwards to *liquidate* and finally to *profit*, but he had been entirely thrown out of his calculations by the dangerous epidemic which had raged in Greenland. However, the traffic in Disko Bay would have proved successful if the frigate had been there in time to sweep the coast clear of foreign ships. When fifteen or sixteen vessels from Holland, Hamburg and Altona could visit Straat Davis every year—and make a profit merely by bartering with the natives—apart from the 120 to 180 vessels from Holland, Bremen and Hamburg which carried on whaling with excellent results, and also many large men-of-war from Biscaya, which manoeuvred off the west ice without inconveniencing the settlements and the Greenlanders—it was easily to be imagined what wealth might accrue to Denmark and Norway, if the navigation of Greenland passed into the hands of a company which was able to equip vessels for the whale-fishery, and which further might transport commodities to and from the settlements. The heavy freights and other costs which burdened the navigation of the country, when carried on by one private individual, would thus be saved.

The Danish sovereign rights of Disko Bay should, according to Severin, be asserted on historical grounds. At the beginning of the 18th century Norwegian merchants had navigated the country with two vessels yearly, and had spread the trade more and more, before they had seen one Dutch trader anywhere off the coasts. The Letters Patent issued by the States General, in 1720, clearly showed that the Dutch had appropriated the country at Straat Davis, but also that the complaints and accusations brought against the Dutch by the Greenlanders and the Danes were true. He brought to remembrance the destruction of Nipisat by the Dutch and their encroachments in the past year upon the natives by robbing them of several whales.

In accordance with the King's sovereign rights of Greenland, all foreigners should be forbidden to traffick with the natives within a distance of 15 miles from the settlements, both those already founded and those which might be, nor should they be allowed to approach land at a distance of less than 2 miles off the settlement. Finally, Severin begged that an armed vessel might again be sent up to the country, but necessarily in good time, that is at the beginning of March.

Pursuant to the petition of Severin, the King in March 1737 again sent up the frigate "Blaahejren," this time under the command of Lieutenant Captain Wodroff. He was instructed to proceed at once to Disko Bay, where he was to call at Klokkerhuk, Makelijk Oud, and Sand Bay, and there to warn the Dutch traders, under pain of having their cargoes confiscated, against entering into any kind of trade relations with the Greenlanders,

who lived within a distance of 10 to 15 miles from the settlement Christianshaab, or more closely defined, towards the north as far as Zwartevogelbay, towards the south as far as Sydost Bay and the islands situated round it, including Grønne Eilander. This being done, he was to navigate the country to the south and west of Christianshaab as far as Bonke Eilander, and to keep all harbours and islands within this area free of foreign merchants. All whalers and traffickers in Davis Strait should, according to the Letters Patent of 1720, be warned against robbing the Greenlanders of their catch; and if this happened, the stolen produce would be confiscated.

Wodroff hailed and boarded all the vessels he came across in Davis Strait: he made the order of the King known to them, and they were forced to confirm their obedience to the law by a hand-shake or in writing. On his way he met two French whalers from St. Jean de Luz and Bayonne, which were going up to Hudson's River, as well as two vessels from St. Sebastian, which carried the Spanish flag and were on their way to Disko with a crew of no less than seventy men each, and in Disko Bay he counted ten ships, which followed the route north of Disko Island.

Wodroff's energetic course of action called forth a complaint from the Dutch resident at Copenhagen. He maintained that the whalers for more than a century had traded on Greenland, and that Wodroff without any justification had hindered the Dutch merchants in their lawful trade for which they had complained to the States General, who in their turn had forwarded the complaint to their resident in Copenhagen. The council answered, chiefly on the strength of the arguments set forth by Severin, that the Danish Government was fully entitled to do what it had done. The resident wrote again to the council stating that the States General were not satisfied with the answer, and that the matter was extremely important.

This note which was couched in rather threatening terms did not, however, make any impression on the Danish Government, any more than on the imperious Severin who from his estate in Jutland ruled remote Greenland as a kind of viceroy. When a Dutch skipper, in defiance of the prohibition, traded at the confines of Christianshaab, his vessel was at once seized by Severin's vessel stationed there.

In his dealings with the Greenland mission Severin generally followed the lead of Hans Egede, who after his return to Denmark, in the autumn of 1736, devoted the remainder of his life to the maintenance and extension of the mission in Greenland. They were agreed that the Greenlandic language, being very difficult, put serious obstacles in the way of mission and trade alike, for which reason it was considered necessary to found a special training school, partly for students who were to go up as missionaries, and partly for young people who might be employed as assistant traders and catechists, and who were by preference to be selected from among the best pupils at the orphanage of the city of Copenhagen. As Severin was not

bound to pay the salaries of more missionaries than were mentioned in his charter, a yearly sum was granted to the Mission College who were to determine the number of missionaries and catechists.

In February 1737 the King ordained that the Greenland mission should be made subject to the Mission College, and that a *Seminarium Groenlandicum* should be founded for the instruction of catechists and assistant traders. Hans Egede who himself undertook the teaching of Greenlandic, was appointed headmaster of this seminary, and until the charter of Severin expired, the College was to receive an annual grant of 500 rigsdaler for this purpose, and after that time a sum of 1000 rigsdaler a year, the pupils of the Greenland Seminary being at the same time given free board and lodging at the expense of the University.

In order to save the great expense of equipping a frigate which, as in the preceding years, was to be sent up to Greenland to restrain the foreign merchants, the King accepted Severin's offer, *viz.* to equip, at his own cost, vessels suited for this purpose, and in addition to the yearly government grant, 4000 rigsdaler were to be paid to him in advance for the years 1738—39. The right of free defence was granted to his vessels for the journey to Greenland, for which purpose each vessel was provided with a Royal flag and pendant which, however, were only to be hoisted within the trade territory of the settlement, and when a cannon was fired, either in their own defence or that of the Greenlanders. The instructions given for Severin's three vessels, a larger and two smaller ones, entitled him to seize the vessels and cargoes of all foreign merchants which were met within the confines of Disko Bay from Zwartevogelbay to Bonke Bay; vessels and cargoes were to be made a prize, and carried off to Denmark; as to the crews of the captured vessels he might take as many into his own service as he thought fit, while the remainder were to be given a small craft with provisions enabling them to be taken onboard another Dutch vessel. In March, 1739, the Admiralty further received orders to hand over to Severin, from the arsenal of the Navy, ten cannons for the safe carrying out of the Greenland project, four three-pounders, and six two-pounders with appurtenances, as well as 350 ball and 100 langrel bags, all of which he was under obligation to return after the expeditions of each year had been completed.

The same year the right of free defence was carried into effect, and Greenland became the scene of the first and last naval battle which is known to have been fought in those waters.

One day about the middle of May, one of Severin's vessels, a pink, lay at anchor at Hvalfiske Eilander (the later Kronprinsens Eilander) when they caught sight of a Dutch gallias "Straat Davids", whose captain, Pieter Molenaer, invited the Danish captain to visit him onboard his vessel. On his arrival, the Dutch captain first asked whether the Danes were friends

or enemies, and he was answered that if anyone had trafficked or intended to traffick within the confines of the settlement, the Danish captain was instructed to make a prize of both ship and cargo. Molenaer answered in a challenging and boasting manner that this could only be done at the cost of human life, for the Danes were merely pirates, while the Dutch were honest free merchants, being authorized to carry on trade by a sea letter from the States General.

Then Molenaer shaped his course for Christianshaab; in Disko Bay he was joined by four other Dutch vessels, and they all cast anchor close to the settlement. At the sight of this flotilla the Greenlanders were seized with panic, and all who the year before had witnessed the seizure of the Dutch vessel abandoned their work and fled.

The "Straat Davids" had been bought and equipped by rich Amsterdam friends of the Moravian Brethren, who in 1733, on the initiative of Zinzendorff, had founded a mission at Neu Herrnhut near Godthaab. It carried a cargo of provisions and building material, and in order to defray as much of the cost as possible, the captain had received orders, first to carry on fishing and trafficking with the natives and then on his way home to call at Godthaab. Onboard the "Straat Davids" was Wincelaus Neisser, one of the leaders of the Moravian Brethren, and he sent a letter to the missionary of that place, Poul Egede, asking him for an interview. Egede crossed the country to the vessels, and was rowed out to the "Straat Davids," where all the commanders were assembled and saluted him with full honours. The Dutch captains expressed their dissatisfaction at the manner in which their comrades had been treated the year before and declared—at the same time showing him their cannons, pistols and other weapons—that, if attacked, they would defend themselves to the last extremity.

A few days afterwards the Dutch flotilla ran up to Makelijk Oud, into the very confines of the settlement, where they found the three vessels of Severin. One of these was the armed galliot, commanded by Captain Niels Fyhneboe, who under the royal flag and pendant fired a cannon shot, as was the custom of the times, to invite the Dutch onboard the galliot.

The Dutch, however, did not accept the invitation but instead hoisted the Prince and Staten flag, and then the trader Fersleff held a council together with the three captains, and it was decided to send the assistant trader Hiort with four men to the Dutch to ask them by whose orders they defied the prohibition of the King and their bond by trespassing the confines of the settlement in order to trade, and why they failed to respect the royal flag and pendant, when by a salute under that flag they had been invited to come onboard. The Dutch answered that they had received orders from their principals to trade everywhere, and that they had only bound themselves to the frigate for a year. They thought the shot had been fired against their pink, which was lying astern. When asked whether they would peace-

fully leave the settlement and its trading confines, they answered that "this they would never do, until they had to go out in splinters."

Severin's vessels then stationed themselves outside the harbour to prevent the Dutch from going out. As they were in danger of being wrecked, should a wind spring up and set the ice adrift, it was resolved to make short shrift by giving the Dutch a broadside and then to set sail, the Dutch being far superior in numbers. Half an hour after midnight Captain Fyhneboe loosened a shot with the same intent as before, and when it proved to be of no avail, fire was opened against the Dutch vessel and continued for five quarters of an hour, when they had all been somewhat damaged, the outermost vessel having received two shots through the side and one in the midst of the main mast.

The Dutch, who until then had given no sign, now at last hoisted the flag and immediately afterwards struck it, and this Severin's men took as an acknowledgement of surrender. The four Dutch captains came onboard Severin's vessel where their boats were made prizes, and while condoling with the Dutch upon their misfortune the Danes blamed them for their stubbornness. All ordnance which was to be found on the Dutch vessels was taken away, and it then proved that there were one swivel gun, two blunderbuses and three muskets on the deck of "Straat Davids", all very heavily loaded. The Danes asked whether all this had been meant for them and were answered in the affirmative—it was only the distance which had prevented the Dutch captains from doing for the Danes. The crews, forty-four men in all, were put ashore where they drank and made merry, and as they all refused to take service onboard the Danish vessels, each crew was given a boat with provisions for a month, so that they might go and look for their countrymen and be taken home by them, in which attempt they succeeded.

The Dutch vessels, with the exception of "Straat Davids," proved to be old and of little value; two of them, which had suffered great damage in the attack, had to be left behind at Christianshaab where the materials were used to build a house for the trader. Severin's small flotilla, which consisted of five vessels and was supplied with many good things from the captured vessels, left for home in July and got back in safety.

The Dutch Government forwarded the complaint of the injured shipowners to their resident at Copenhagen, who again put the matter before the King. Severin maintained, with great energy, that he had been fully justified in seizing the vessels, the value of which by no means equalled the 16,000 rigsdaler, which it was calculated he had lost by the illicit trading of the Dutch. The States General at that time were not inclined to put greater pressure on Denmark, not least because the injured Dutch shipowners had taken the law into their own hands by seizing and transporting to Amsterdam the vessel of Captain Fyhneboe, when in November the same year it ran aground on the Dutch coast.

Wincellaus Neisser addressed written complaints and petitions to the King and Queen, requesting that "Straat Davids" and its cargo consisting of merchandise and provisions for the Moravian Brethren in Greenland, should be restored. The latter request was granted, but regarding the vessel, the matter was to be settled by law.

On the expiration of the six first years of the charter, Severin, chiefly by means of the profitable prizes, seems to have reached the stage of the Greenland venture which, in his original calculations, he calls "liquidation". However, as his private accounts have not been kept, nothing can be said for certain. It is only known that Godthaab in the year of 1737, under the management of Niels Egede, produced 135 casks of blubber which at the auction fetched 2140 rigsdaler, and for this the King awarded him a gratuity of 200 rigsdaler.

By order of the King the Greenland commission which for some time had lead a rather passive existence, at the end of 1739 sent in a report on the extension of the trading confines in Greenland, the appearance of which report, however, had been delayed by the death of its most prominent member, the historiographer Hoyer. The commission thought that it would be expedient for the King to issue Letters Patent of very nearly the same contents as the written instructions which had formerly been given to Severin regarding the encroachments upon his privileges by foreign traders. Attention was called to the fact that, although admonitions had been issued against entering the confines of Christianshaab, a similar proceeding had not been followed in the case of Godthaab. According to the members of the Commission this ought now to take place, but on the other hand they considered themselves unable to accede to Severin's request that the confines of the foreign trade should not merely be 15 to 20 miles on each side along the coast, but the same distance out to sea, and they gave as their reason that in the case of Iceland and the Faroe Islands it had not been thought fit to extend the confines beyond 4 miles.

Early in 1740 Severin, on inquiry, was referred to the Greenland commission in all matters relating to the navigation and mission work in Greenland, and the said commission was also dealing with his proposal as to a renewal of the expiring charter.

On March 4th, 1740, the King renewed Severin's charter for a period of four years on the following conditions: Severin engaged to keep the Greenland missionaries, one at Godthaab, two at Christianshaab, and a fourth when the Mission College should consider it necessary to send him, as well as the two Greenlanders chosen at each settlement, and others who might be supposed to make able catechists and to whom he was to give salary, board, light and fuel. As it was considered very necessary, at both settlements, to establish schools for native children of over ten years and eager to learn, and as there were already young Greenlanders who had been

trained for that work and might help the missionaries with the teaching, he engaged to provide a room at each settlement or to build a house arranged in the Greenland manner for that purpose. The twenty to twenty-four children at each settlement were further to be provided with bread, butter and stockfish in such quantities as, together with their Greenland fare, was sufficient for the maintenance of life, as well as with boots, wearing apparel and bed clothing in such quantities as were necessary according to the Greenland way of living. He also engaged to supply the two teachers at each settlement, a Dane and a Greenlander, with food, light, fuel, the necessary clothes and a small salary, at least 10 rigsdaler each. Finally, he was under obligation to leave provisions for a whole year at each settlement, in case a vessel were lost.

In return Severin was granted the following privileges and emoluments, *viz.* a yearly sum of 5000 rigsdaler, of which 2000 rigsdaler was for the purpose of having his ships armed and manned, and 3000 rigsdaler to defray the costs of the mission. In order that he might not be hampered by too great an advance to procure the necessary vessels and buy provisions for a whole year, he was further granted 5000 rigsdaler against a mortgage on his estate of Dronninglund to be settled during the last year of his charter. It was repeated in the new charter that all missionaries and traders, when they had served 4 to 6 years in Greenland and were able to show testimonials for irreproachable conduct from Severin, should be given suitable employment within the realms of the King; also, private soldiers and marines, who had behaved honourably and fairly in the country should, wherever they then settled, be exempt from being called up to the Army or Navy, and those who had served in the fitting-out department and offices in Denmark for three years should be admitted to the costers' guild after having passed an examination. All commodities which were carried down or sent up to Severin's stores or manufactory of train-oil should be free from duty, excise or other dues. All the vessels employed in the trade must, if required, be provided with the Admiralty certificate. Severin was authorized to dispose of all commodities by auction in larger and smaller consignments. On the expiration of the charter, he had to deliver up without payment all houses, buildings with fixtures, utensils, boats and tents, but he was to be paid by valuation for all that was left of provisions, merchandise and casks, yachts and boats. Until March 1744 he had the sole right of trading on Greenland, being at the same time under obligation to engage one or two men in the enterprise, who without being personally interested in the trade should be duly acquainted with everything pertaining to it.

On April 9th, the King issued Letters Patent announcing that Jacob Severin had been entrusted with the exclusive right of trading on Greenland in the settlements already founded or those which might be founded in future, due notification having been given beforehand as to their sites and

confines which should, as a rule, extend for a distance of 10 to 15 miles on both sides of each settlement. Anyone who, anywhere in Greenland, by land or by sea, robbed the Greenlanders or did open violence to them should be arrested, and their vessels seized. The relation to the mission was put on a more definite footing, in that Hans Egede (on March 18th) in the capacity of superintendent was empowered to supervise the Greenland mission.

After the renewal of the charter, Severin handed to the King a report of the unfavorable financial position to which he had been reduced by the Greenland trade. As proved before the commission in dry figures, he had lost over 16.000 rigsdaler by the epidemic and the encroachment of the foreign traders on his rights; the yearly cost of the navigation with everything pertaining thereto and the maintenance of the mission he estimated at 11.000 rigsdaler annually, which amount would become still greater in the future, as owing to his love of the cause he had undertaken to keep one more missionary as well as four catechists and forty-eight native children who should be instructed in Christianity, none of which had been included in the original charter. The delay in preparing the charter had retarded the sending out of his vessels, which would cause a loss of 5000 to 7000 rigsdaler for the present year. Finally, he complained that the promise given him of a lottery had never been fulfilled. As the result of Severin's complaints the King, on May 6th, gave orders to advance him a further sum of 5000 rigsdaler.

In January, 1741, Severin wrote to the King proposing to establish two new settlements in Greenland, one between Christianshaab and Godthaab, the other between Godthaab and Cape Farewell, in both of which places many Greenlanders were staying. He further proposed to build a house, 5 to 6 miles from Christianshaab, where the missionary of that place, together with some catechists instructed by him, might teach the Greenlanders in summer, and the best of the catechists alternately spend the winter. Severin prided himself on having removed the soldiers and sailors from Christianshaab, where they had fallen into bad repute by their scandalous manner of living, and replacing them with honest and capable young peasants from his own estate. Through the agency of a Greenland trader he had, in the preceding year, made an attempt to get together as many able young men of good repute from the northern part of Norway as were required in order to replace the rough and incapable soldiers and sailors at Godthaab. These hardy settlers, who were to come down from the Finmark, should spend the winter in Copenhagen and then be sent up to occupy the southernmost of the projected colonies, and it was his and Egede's idea, as had been set forth in 1737, to try and find the old eastern settlement by pushing the establishment of settlements farther towards the south.

On April 1st, 1741, the King approved of the request of Severin that the charter should be prolonged until March 15th, 1750, *viz.* for a period of

ten years, and he also sanctioned the establishment of the two settlements mentioned above as well as the mission house.

In the course of that summer a house was built at Claushavn "in the Greenlandic manner," which building was to serve not only as a dwelling for the missionary but as an abode for the traders, when on their expeditions; with the permission of the King a station was founded in the bay of Makelijk Oud, which, in honour of Jacob Severin, was called Jacobshavn.

Within the period 1740 to 1743 Niels Egede lived and worked at Christianshaab, both as a trader and a missionary, and with his intimate knowledge and great love of the Greenlanders and their language, with his zeal and constant activity on their behalf, he left in many ways his impress on the life of the settlement and greatly furthered the commercial traffic in the bay. The buildings of the settlement were repaired and completed with materials from two of the Dutch vessels which had been captured at Makelijk Oud, but which had proved to be practically unseaworthy and so were left and broken up. In 1740 he arranged a small battery with four-pounders on a rampart at the settlement, with the view of impressing the Dutch, and he also set up a small flag-staff for the large royal flag in order further to assert the Danish sovereignty of Disko Bay. The trading expeditions with the yachts and vessels of the settlement covered the coast to the south as far as the present Egedesminde, and to the north as far as Jacobshavn, Klokkehuk, and into Vaigat. In March the trader set out on his trading expeditions in order to forestall the Dutch, wherever it was reported that there were native products to be had; blubber, seal-, rein- and foxskins were obtained in exchange for the merchandise most desired by the natives, *viz.* linen and woollen goods, kettles and hardware. The trading expeditions, frequently very strenuous, were made easier by the warehouses which had been located here and there, particularly on Jacobsholm, where the traders might take refuge in rough weather and store their produce. These parts were rather populous, as appears from Niels Egede's report that in this place he met a thousand people, who received him joyfully with singing and dancing, as if he had been the governor. Trade flourished and increased so rapidly that there was a growing demand for more vessels and more people to do the work. In 1743 there were fifteen Danes at Christianshaab, *viz.* two clergymen, a catechist, a trader and an assistant trader, a cooper, a carpenter, a cook and seven ordinary sailors.

The establishment of Christianshaab paralyzed the trade of the Dutch in the bay, although, for many years, they continued their commerce in these parts. The relations between the Danes and the Dutch was and remained rather peculiar, the former having received orders from home to put down the illicit Dutch trade, if necessary by force of arms, while, at other times, they were forced to turn to them for assistance, whenever they were in need of provisions, ammunition or passage towards the south, as for instance

in severe ice years when the Danish vessels were wrecked or delayed. Thus in the winter of 1744 to 1745, when one of Severin's vessels was bound up at Christianshaab, the crew, in their dire distress, were extremely pleased to be able to obtain meat, bacon, peas, ground cereals and beer from a Dutch whaler.

In the summer of 1742, Severin, after investigating the coast to the south of lat. 62° N., established a new settlement at Pâmiut in lat. $61^{\circ} 59'$; it was the most southerly of the Greenland colonies hitherto founded, and by an order in council it was named Frederikshaab, after the Crown-prince. During the first years of its existence the navigation of the new settlement was attended with every accident imaginable. The vessel, which had taken the first settlers up there, was wrecked entirely on its way back to Jutland, and the other vessel containing building materials etc. for the settlement was detained in Norway for a whole winter. In 1744 another vessel bound for Frederikshaab struck an iceberg, at a distance of 8 miles from the settlement, and sank so rapidly that the crew barely saved their lives in the boat. Under great hardships they worked their way northwards to Godthaab where there was unfortunately a scarcity of provisions; here they were advised to try and go in boats as far as Christianshaab, which was supposed to be better provisioned, and from there they returned in the autumn. Finally, in 1748, the vessel which was to have navigated the settlement from Godthaab was prevented, by the ice, from getting there, and so the blubber purchased from the natives, a hundred casks in all, had to be left behind. As it was feared that conditions would be no better in the following year, it was resolved to give up the trading and to limit the employées in that place to a missionary and a catechist, an assistant trader and two sailors.

In consequence of this and other difficulties, Severin at the end of the year handed in a report showing the great losses he had suffered, which necessitated him to give up the navigation of Greenland; at the same time, however, he offered to continue trading and seeing to the needs of the mission, until both, on the expiration of his charter, could pass into other hands, and this arrangement was approved of by the King.

In April 1747, by order of the King, a letter was addressed to the directors of the General Trading Company, in which they were requested to consider the future navigation of Greenland. The directors obtained all necessary information from Severin, who in October had come to Copenhagen to sell his vessels, and on the strength of this they declared themselves willing to take over the trade on Greenland. On December 19th the company was granted permission to undertake the Greenland trade and mission, while receiving in return an annual sum of 5000 rigsdaler for a period of two or three years. In March 1750 Severin, who intended to send up a vessel with the view of bringing home his employées, stores and chattels, was licenced, until the end of June, to carry on the trade on Greenland in colla-

boration with the General Trading Company, which in June was accorded a further grant of 10.000 Rigsdaler for the navigation and mission of that country.

Jacob Severin died in 1753, thus only surviving for a few years the end of his great period as the patron of Greenland, a period heavily fraught with adversity and disappointments. No one can deny the value of his services to our most northerly colony, for, alone of all the great merchants of Denmark and Norway, he possessed the courage and energy to resume the commerce and navigation of Greenland, after the Bergen Company and the Government, by dearly bought experience, had been forced to give it up. For sixteen years, under the greatest difficulties, he held out that the work begun by Egede as a missionary and a colonizer should not have been in vain. He understood that missioning was colonizing, and in the years when he was at the helm, the border of colonization was pushed north to lat. 72° N. by the foundation of Christianshaab and Jacobshavn, and south to lat. 61° N. by the foundation of Frederikshaab.

For the pioneering work in these new settlements he selected from among his own relatives men like Fersleff and Dalager; from among the inhabitants of the northern part of Norway he chose Anders Olsen, the founder of Sukkertoppen and Julianehaab, and among the young peasants, sent up from his estate of Dronninglund, was the capable J. P. Dorf, who helped to found Ritenbenk and proved of great assistance to the Greenlanders. Much of what was done later on, Severin would have done, if luck had favoured him, and had the task he undertook not been too heavy for the economic capability of one man. The forceful injunctions, issued to all nations trading in Greenland, that they should respect the confines of the settlements and the Danish flag, and also refrain from doing violence to the person and property of the Greenlanders, must be attributed to his energetic demand for the maintenance of the Danish-Norwegian sovereignty of Greenland. A broad and self-reliant figure he steps out of the frame of the picture which we possess of him in his ceremonial robes, draped with a leopard's skin. He was not merely the cool and calculating business man; there was in his mental make-up, at any rate a touch of idealism, of interest in spiritual matters and a feeling for humanity. When, in 1736, Hans Egede returned to Denmark, broken in spirit and body, Jacob Severin gave him shelter and warm-hearted sympathy. As contrasted with the Mission College he always respected and sought Egede's advice and guidance. Many years after Severin's death, Poul Egede mentions the reception given to him and the Greenlanders who, in 1740, accompanied him to Denmark, and the kindness and hospitality shown by the owner of Dronninglund and his equally kind-hearted staff and household. But also as a landlord and an employer Jacob Severin left a good name, as when, for instance, a man who had been captain of one of his ships for nearly forty years thanks him for his honesty and straight dealing, as well as for all benefits throughout their long intercourse.

THE GENERAL TRADING COMPANY

1750—75.

A few days after the accession of King Frederik V, a peace treaty was concluded with Algiers by which this pirate state guaranteed Danish vessels against seizure. This event gave rise to the foundation of the General Trading Company, and the concession for this company, covering a period of forty years, was issued by the King on September 4th, 1747. The object was to supply foreigners with the articles of other foreigners and also to get all the commodities required in Denmark at first hand, by means of vessels sailing directly from Copenhagen and the neighbouring countries to the states of the western regions, the Mediterranean and the Levant; in the course of time, the company intended to carry on whaling, to establish offices and factories in the northern countries, and to keep supplies of all sorts of merchandise in Copenhagen. The joint-stock capital was 500.000 rigsdaler in a thousand shares, which were quickly taken up, and the company was granted rather considerable privileges and concessions.

One of the first tasks of the General Trading Company was, as mentioned above, to make arrangements regarding the Greenland trade. In the summer of 1750 it sent up the trader N. C. Geelmuyden to take over the three settlements and the station of Jacobshavn, which until then had been managed by the traders of Severin. According to his description, the buildings were all in the poorest condition, with the exception of the dwelling house and storehouse in the place last mentioned; indeed, they were so decayed and neglected that even windows and doors were wanting. By the terms of the concession the General Trading Company was bound to take over, against payment, useful and necessary craft such as yachts and ships' boats; there was only a single yacht holding 24 to 25 casks of blubber which was stationed at Christianshaab, but it had sprung a leak, and its keel was damaged. Two old ships' boats, stationed off Christianshaab and Frederikshaab, were practically useless. Small boats and tents were to be handed over without payment, but there were none, neither at Frederikshaab, Christianshaab nor Jacobshavn, with the exception of one umiaq in the place last mentioned. At Godthaab there were two larger and three smaller boats and one umiaq, and unless for two brewing coppers the fixtures were in a very bad state of repair.

The trade was everywhere in a state of decline, and great damage was done to it by foreign traders and by the illicit traffic carried on by the local traders. Conditions were worst at Frederikshaab which had been deserted by the trader and was only inhabited by the missionary and his assistants, for which reason the trading expeditions had been given up. The single dwelling-house which was to accommodate not only the missionary, the traders and the crew, but also provisions and articles of trade, was far

too small and much decayed. The buildings at Godthaab were in a very poor state with the exception of the weigh-house which was built of Norwegian timber, and a Greenland house which was used as a cooper's shop and store-house. The dwelling-house was badly in need of repair, and it proved necessary to pull down and rebuild the provision shed, which also served as a brewery, bakery and smithy, and the same held good of the blubber-house in the ships' harbour. Two small houses which were built of turf and stones, and fitted up as a store-house, and a cooper's shop and a weigh house, were in fairly good condition.

Christianshaab with the mission house and the Jacobshavn station were deserted by the traders, and only one missionary and two catechists were left. The vessel of the new company met the last of Severin's vessels homeward-bound, and as the missionary and all the people belonging to the station, although they had not served their full time, could not be persuaded to stay on, they were taken onboard. Thus the confusion which, owing to the lack of provisions, would otherwise have been the result was avoided.

The dwelling-house at Christianshaab was so decayed that it would not pay to repair it. In the brewery and bakery, which were built of deal, the chimney and baker's oven were decayed, the boards were unfit for use, and nails were lacking. The store-house leaked, so that the stores were bound to decay; in addition there was at the settlement a framework blubber-house and a Greenland house for empty casks. The mission and school-house, which had been broken into by the Greenlanders, had neither floor, chimney nor a fire-place, and it had to be rebuilt.

Unless the report of Geelmuyden was painted in too strong colours, the conditions under which the General Trading Company took over the holdings of Severin in Greenland were anything but favourable. One gleam of comfort there was, however, in Geelmuyden's report, *viz.* that both Christianshaab and Jacobshavn, whose unfavorable situation had frequently been commented upon, and which it had been thought advisable to remove, were in his opinion founded in the right places, both from the point of view of habitation and the extent of the trade district.

In 1750 and again in the following year the company sent up materials to remedy the decay of the buildings of the existing settlements, and projects were afoot to establish new settlements and lodges at Vester, Hunde and Hvalfiske Eilander, at Syd Bay, Fiskernæsset and Sukkertoppen as well as at the Sermilik and Tunugdliarfik Fiords both for the furtherance of the mission and to prevent foreigners from encroaching.

In February, 1751, letters were exchanged between the General Trading Company and Hans Egede about Peter Olsen Walløe, the former trader at Christianshaab, whom he had recommended warmly as the man particularly fit for the attempt to go south in an umiaq and thus to try to reach the east side of the country. The directors approved of the appointment and gave

permission for Walløe to settle in the country as the first free trader, and they also issued instructions for him, based upon the reconnoitring trip of Hans Egede. With dauntless energy Walloe fulfilled the task appointed to him, in such a manner that his name will for ever be inscribed among the greatest of Greenland's explorers; but as to this, and his life generally the reader is referred to "Early Exploration of Greenland" (vol. I). In March, 1751, the King as "Absolute Monarch and Sovereign Lord of Greenland and the surrounding islands" issued Letters Patent, which forbade his own subjects as well as foreign traders, due warning being given, to traffic on the settlements and stations which had already been founded or might be founded in the future, as well as within the appointed precincts, 15 miles on both sides of each settlement, inclusive of all islands and harbours in Disko Bay, from Vester Eilander to Zwartenvogelbay. On this occasion the provision was reinforced that anyone, who on land or at sea perpetrated violence against the Greenlanders, would be arrested and his vessel seized.

The conditions of the Greenland trade, especially in the South, and its influence on the population as conditions had developed about the middle of the century, have been described by the trader Lars Dalager, also mentioned in "Early Exploration of Greenland". He gives excellent information, partly contained in "Grönlandske Relationer" published in 1752, and partly in his report written in 1755, on the advantages and drawbacks of the Greenland trade. This intelligent and practical man, the brother-in-law of Severin, had become associated with Greenland at an early period. There is hardly any doubt that he went up in the vessel which founded Frederikshaab in 1746, and until 1748 he remained there as manager of the settlement; then he entered the service of the General Trading Company, and in 1750 he was appointed, by them, trader at Frederikshaab, and then again at Godthaab, in 1754.

"All that has hitherto been worked and profited," writes Dalager, "has been huckstering, as the Dutch always take away the finest and best, because they are able to sell their merchandise to much better advantage than we. The places where they set up their booths are from 65° to 70°, inclusive. There they have certain ports of their own, to which the Greenlanders flock from all parts of the country with their skins and baleen; they are so to say enraptured by these negotiations, for one hardly ever hears them talking together in company or general intercourse, but that they extol the excellent bargains they can make with them. The only fortunate thing is that they have not yet acquired the proper insight into negotiations so as to supply the Greenlanders with good hardware, for all their iron *cargaison* is neither of good quality nor of any great value, wherefore the Greenlanders do not set great store by it, but rather pay us three times the price. If the Dutch acquire the right methods, it will not take long before our trading stations become of no account, and the Greenlanders

themselves will be entirely ruined by the constant multiplication of guns and powder, for the hunting of seal becomes utterly neglected. The means of remedying this, namely that the Dutch may be driven out of the country, we all know very well, that is, by establishing a main lodge in Syd Bay and further a lodge on the south side of Syd Bay at Narssarmiut or Ũmánaq and another north of Jacobshavn."

Lars Dalager was in many respects a far-sighted man, who clearly realized the drawbacks connected with the trade, and who so decidedly took the part of the Greenlanders that he occupies a perfectly unique position among the settlers of the 18th century, and thus deserves special mention in a history of the trade. He was not one of those who regarded Greenland as a refuge for people who had come to grief in some way or other, or as an outlet for adventuresome spirits, nor did he regard it as a transition stage to a better position or gain, which in his day had frequently been acquired by illicit trading or abuse of the Greenlanders. He only wanted to live and die in Greenland, and his aim was that the rising generation should be brought up so as to become either good Greenlanders or useful artisans at the settlements. With full justice it may be said of Dalager that few foreigners had been more highly esteemed in the country than he was.

It was Dalager's hope that it should prove possible to lead the Greenlanders back to their old chief trade, *viz.* sealing, and with a view to improve this trade he proposed to make an attempt to catch seal by means of nets, which method had already been advised by Hans Egede in 1722. He wanted to make the Greenlanders give up the habit of deer-hunting which had developed into pure sport, so that they roamed about for weeks, indeed, even for months with their old and almost useless guns, without achieving anything except maiming a few animals or even themselves, and for this purpose he bought about fifty of the poorest guns, paying for them with tobacco and linen which he did not charge to the accounts of the company, and these guns he destroyed. In return, he lent the Greenlanders, against a yearly payment, some of the good rifles of the company for the hunting of seal. The result was that the profit on blubber in the following years rose by about 1000 rigsdaler.

The trading intercourse between the natives on one hand, and Danes and foreigners on the other, had utterly changed the Greenlanders in the neighbourhood of the settlements, both as regards dress and other necessities of life. The men began to use kerchiefs round their necks, buckles on their shoes and fine garters, indeed, they had even pockets in their trousers to keep their snuff and kerchiefs, while the women wore a kind of small mantilla, entirely covered with bows of broad silk ribbons. They also quickly acquired a taste for tobacco mixed with snuff, which, after powder and bullets, became the merchandise in greatest request, and in order to get

this they were ready to sell their very clothes. The amount of snuff sold constantly increased, all the more as it was a current idea in those days that snuff extracted unwholesome humours from the head and was a remedy against weak eyes.

The dependency of the Greenlanders upon the local trader and his assistants resulted in a steadily growing decline of social and economic conditions. The traders—says a contemporary—were perfect kings in their dealings with the natives who honoured and feared them as Gods on earth. For all that, the General Trading Company had great difficulty in securing the services of able people, because of the ill repute into which Greenland had fallen, owing to its isolation and the severity of the climate. A description of conditions at Frederikshaab from the years 1754—55 after Dalager had gone home, gives us a very dark picture of life in the colony in those days. The trader was an ordinary sailor, who had formerly been in the China trade, and had no knowledge of anything; he led an infamous life, exploited the Greenlanders and was extremely brutal towards them. The Danish crews quarrelled and drank gin, and nothing but oaths and curses were heard on all sides on account of the hard service, the mean wages and the poor fare. The men were almost exclusively Icelanders and many of them died of scurvy. The assistant trader beat them; the missionary, a proud and uncompromising but exceedingly poor man, held a service twice in the course of the night, *viz.* at midnight and at six in the morning, and those who did not attend this service were punished.

Our authority remarks that conditions were better at Godthaab, and also that great changes had taken place about the end of the century. This was partly due to the establishment of inspectorates, by which it became possible to forward complaints from the remote country to the directors of the General Trading Company, who now further demanded testimonials for good behaviour on the part of those who wanted to enter their service, and wages were raised.

At last the company felt sufficiently strong from an economic point of view to venture on founding new trading stations in the places which, time after time, had been proposed by Egede, Paars and Severin. At the meeting of the directors, in February 1754, it was decided to establish four new stations, one in North Greenland at Sakkame (Greenlandic *casus locativus* of *sarqaq*, on the sunny side) 16—20 miles to the north of Jacobshavn, to be navigated by vessels from that settlement, with a staff consisting of a trader, an assistant and three or four sailors, which station was to be navigated by vessels from Jacobshavn; one in South Greenland at Isortoq or the Syd Bay of the Dutch; one on the south side of Isortoq at Kanjâmiut or Old Sukkertoppen, both of which were to be navigated by one vessel and supplied with a staff consisting of a trader, an assistant trader, and three or four sailors; and finally one at South Fiskernæs

as an intermediary station for the long cruises between Godthaab and Frederikshaab.

In the same year the station at Fiskernæsset was founded on an island between the southern and middle course of Fiskernæs Fiord. Its founder was Anders Olsen who came from the same part of Norway as Hans Egede, and inscribed his name with honour as one of its ablest pioneers in the history of the colonization of Greenland. One of the vessels of the General Trading Company conveyed him there, together with an assistant and three sailors, his house at Godthaab which the company had bought from him, as well as provisions, articles of commerce and fixtures.

Simultaneously with this the trader at Jacobshavn L. C. Biørn, by order of the directors of March 20th, investigated the district surrounding Sakhame in order to find a suitable situation for the establishment of a station. In the following year, on April 26th, the trader C. C. Dalager, the brother of Lars Dalager, received orders to establish the settlement in the situation which had already been reconnoitred, or to choose a better place, if possible one farther north, and it was intimated to him that the Sakhame settlement was to be called Ritenbenk, a transposition of the letters contained in the name of C. A. von Berkentin, the president of the General Trading Company. In accordance with these instructions Dalager established the settlement on the south side of the Nûgssuaq Peninsula in a situation which had been chosen with a view to navigation, and which was at the same time a beautiful and pleasant spot, set amidst grand surroundings.

In the summer of 1755 Anders Olsen founded the Sukkertoppen settlement, in a situation which had been chosen by him the year before, on a large island immediately north of the mouth of Evigheds Fiord and close to the Greenland dwelling place, Kangâmiut. The settlement of Sukkertoppen derived its name (i. e. sugar loaf) from an island with lofty peaks, situated to the north of Kangâmiut, which the Dutch had named Zuikerbrood. In the course of the summer one of the vessels of the company brought materials for two new buildings at the settlement, as well as fixtures, articles of trade and provisions, and the founder of the place managed it with ability and zeal until 1773.

In 1756 a settlement with a dwelling for a trader was established at Syd Bay (Ukivik), the meeting place of the Dutch which has been mentioned on a former occasion as the chief centre of their bartering.

In March 1757 the General Trading Company, with just satisfaction, acquainted the shareholders with the achievements and results of the past three years, at the same time communicating to them that the King had compensated the company for the full cost of founding the three new settlements, *viz.* a sum of 8795 rigsdaler in all, and in addition to the subvention of 5000 rigsdaler which had been granted to the company, a further yearly sum of 2000 rigsdaler for the years 1755—56 and until further notice. The

hope that the illicit trading on Greenland should have ceased in consequence of the newly established settlements had, however, not been fulfilled, foreign ships having appeared off the coasts of Greenland in the past year in order to traffic with the Greenlanders. For this reason the directors were determined to establish another small station north of Ritenbenk, between lat. 71° and 72° N., though in such a manner that the Danish area of colonization was to be extended as far as lat. 73° N.

On April 22nd, 1758, the King issued Letters Patent which became of great value to the General Trading Company in their dealings with the illicit foreign trade. In this the prohibition contained in the letter of 1751, was repeated and extended to comprise trading in all harbours and dwelling places; further, both the subjects of the King and foreigners were forbidden to trade on land or at sea within 4 miles, and also to carry off Greenlanders, to perpetrate violence against them, or to rob them of their property under pain of confiscation of vessel and cargo; however, it should be permitted to go ashore in case of shipwreck or when in want of fresh water, but such sojourns were not to be extended beyond the period required.

The last established settlements and the issue of these Letters Patent gave rise to renewed quarrels with the Dutch. In the summer of 1757, one of the vessels of the company seized a Dutch vessel off Hunde Eilander, and the captain was obliged to admit that he had traded inside the line which had already been laid down in 1751 within Disko Bay and also in Weide Fiord (Kangerdluarssuk) and at Rifkol. In the presence of the Dutch commissary van Deurs, the crew was subjected to an examination held at Copenhagen, and they admitted that although they had neither caught nor fished, they had, by bartering with the natives, acquired all the products found in the vessels, such as blubber, baleen, seal and foxskins, in exchange for which they had given commodities from home, particularly guns. The assistant trader had been onboard in Weide Fiord and communicated to them that a settlement Syd Bay had been founded, and he had also acquainted them with the Letters Patent of the King. By the order of his government the commissary protested against the confiscation of the vessel, on the plea that the Danish king by granting a concession of the Greenland trade to a private company, had done harm to Holland which for many years had been in possession of this trade.

In the summer of 1756, the trader C. C. Dalager had reconnoitred a place on the borders of the so-called Stikkender Jacobs Bay, about 22 miles north of Ritenbenk, in a region where there was good hunting and where the establishment of a settlement or station would check the illicit trade on this stretch. In accordance with this reconnoitring Johan Henrik Bruun established the settlement Nûgssuaq's Forsøg (i. e. trial) on the southwestern point of Nûgssuaq Peninsula at the mouth of Voigat. The founding of this settlement was attended with great difficulties and strenuous efforts, which

caused serious illness among the courageous pioneers. The choice of the situation soon proved to be unfortunate, owing to the inclemency of the climate and the long distances between the Greenland dwelling places, whose inhabitants preferred to trade with the Dutch, as they gave them better bargains than the Danes. On April 10th, 1760, orders were issued to J. H. Bruun, the trader of that place, that immediately after the arrival of the vessel he should set out together with one of the officers and the assistant trader at the settlement, and in the ship's boat undertake a reconnoitring trip in Stikkender Jacobs Bay itself in order to find a suitable situation for the settlement. In the following year the directors, at the suggestion of Bruun, agreed to move the settlement to Ūmánaq Island, midway in Stikkender Jacobs Bay, where many Greenlanders lived, and where there were two good harbours. In 1761 the blubber-house was removed, and, for the time being, an assistant was appointed to carry on trade and make sure whether the situation was suitable for founding a settlement. Not until 1763 did it prove possible to establish the settlement in the new situation, and during that period the Dutch did great harm to the Danes. In 1764 the captain of the vessel of the settlement was instructed to seize illicit traffickers, and the trader made strenuous efforts to obtain those articles of trade from home which the Greenlanders by preference acquired by bartering with the Dutch. The winter ice remained for a long time, and the distances being long, the short summer was insufficient to fetch the products from the various dwelling places. What gave further impetus to the trade of the district, and is, to this day, its chief source of wealth, was the method of catching seals by nets. This method, which had been introduced as an experiment in 1763 by the able founder of the settlement, quickly developed into a profitable trade, and was subsequently taken up throughout North Greenland by Danes and sealers of mixed parentage.

Simultaneously with the resolution to establish Nūgssuaq; the directors of the General Trading Company determined to found a settlement on Mannik Island (Manermiut right between Syd Bay and Christianshaab in the north with the larger tracts surrounding it, *viz.* Hvalfiske, Hunde and Vester Eilander, and Rifkol with other sealing places in the south). In addition, a station was to be founded in the same year in Weide Fiord, where whales were frequently seen. In the summer of 1759 Niels Egede founded a new settlement, 5 miles north of North Ström Fiord (the Dutch Rommelpotten) at the Egoalugssuit Bay. This settlement was distinguished by a convenient entrance, rich salmon rivers, with easy access to whaling in the spring and walrus hunting, as well as a great number of birds, peat soil and heather. In the preceding year the Dutch had taken a Greenlander with them to Europe, and then brought him back again in order that he might tell his countrymen of the power the Dutch possessed to enforce their will; this had

driven the natives in great terror from Hvalfiske and Vester Eilander, and they fled to the new settlement where the trader received them.

Niels Egede asked for permission to name this settlement Egedesminde, in memory of his father, and he also suggested, in a letter to the directors, that Syd Bay should be called Holsteinsborg, in honour of Count J. L. Holstein of Lethraberg, the president of the Mission College. Amerdloq he proposed to call "Missionens Onske" (i. e. the desire of the Mission), Fiskernæsset Blacke's Island after Blacke, one of the directors of the General Trading Company, and finally Sukkertoppen "Handels Pris" (i. e. the pride of trade).

In a letter to Niels Egede, dated May 10th, 1760 the directors declared that they would have preferred the settlement to have been established 6 to 8 miles farther north, so that it came to lie midway between the dwelling places on Hvalfiske Eilander and North Ström Fiord. They approved of Egede's proposal as to the names Egedesminde and Holsteinsborg, but otherwise they reserved to themselves the right to name the settlements.

In 1761 the trader J. P. Dorf replaced Niels Egede as manager of the settlement, and he laid great stress on the drawbacks attaching to its situation on the outskirts of the district, which was about 30 miles long; therefore, the directors approved of his proposal to remove the settlement to one of the islands in the Dutch Bonke Bay (Ausiait), and this change took place in 1763. It took a long time before New Egedesminde, as it was now called, became a flourishing settlement, partly because of the establishment of Godhavn, and partly owing to the encroachments of the illicit foreign traders. In the year before the removal of the settlement, a house had been built on the island of Manitsoq near New Egedesminde. This was done on the initiative of Niels Egede, and the idea was that a small lodge should be established with accommodation for one of the traders of the settlement with three men; here they were to collect the autumn blubber and be ready in case whales should appear off the island. Moreover, it was hoped that the Dutch might be prevented from encroaching upon the trade of the surrounding islands.

About this time the quarrel, which had sprung up between the Dutch and the Danish governments regarding the trade on Greenland, was settled by the English and French ministers at Copenhagen as arbiters. It was resolved that Denmark should withdraw the restrictions on the fishery, while the Dutch fishermen should give up trafficking with the natives.

In 1765 the General Trading Company made attempts to carry on whaling at Holsteinsborg, and with that end in view they sent up ten men under the leadership of Anders Olsen. The house of the settlement being too small to hold so many persons, it was resolved to move the station at Amerdloq there, and in 1767 the mission house from Asungmiut was moved to its present situation. Also the old plans of colonizing the Godthaab District

by means of Icelanders, were brought up for consideration by the directors. As some Icelandic families had expressed a wish to settle in the best fiords in order to breed sheep and cattle, the General Trading Company resolved to engage the services and pay the salary of the missionary Eigil Thorhallsen, a native of Iceland, who should investigate Baal's Rivier at Ameralik Fiord and Præste Fiord and several other places in order to procure information as to the advantage of establishing a settlement for Icelanders, but very little was ever done in the matter.

The General Trading Company never became a remunerative enterprise. Its vessels were wrecked, and the trade on the Mediterranean was spoiled by the hostile relations with Spain, which in 1753 even led to a diplomatic rupture. The fact that the company, in 1763, was granted the concession of the trade on Iceland and the Finmark for a period of twenty years did not improve its financial status, especially because a disease broke out among the sheep on Iceland, and in the Finmark the fishery utterly failed.

Nor did the trade on Greenland—and this is what interests us particularly in this connection—yield the expected profit, inasmuch as the whale fishery failed, and the yearly Government grant was used for the keeping up of the mission, while huge sums were spent to procure vessels specially suited for the Greenland trade. In 1763 the yearly grant given to the company for the furthering of the Greenland trade was raised to 7000 rigsdaler for a period of twenty years.

The trade on Greenland occupied an independent position, with separate accounts and book-keeping, and for the period from 1748 to 1758 its expenses amounted to 48.745 rigsdaler, while the native produce brought home fetched a sum of 48.181 rigsdaler, or a clear loss of 564 rigsdaler. The two vessels provided for the trade, "De 4 Søskende" and "Rigernes Ønske", cost 19.000 and 23.000 rigsdaler, respectively. In the years 1749 to 1752 with their many purchases and refittings the expenses amounted to 17.185 rigsdaler, the income being 8187 rigsdaler, or a loss of about 9000 rigsdaler. The shareholders became more and more dissatisfied with the directors, and this discontent came to a head when the commissaries, who had been elected at a general meeting in 1768, advised them to sell their vessels and to take up the carrying trade. The same views were held by the commissaries who had been appointed at an annual meeting in 1772, and who were to consider whether the vessels should be realized, and how the affairs of the trade could be wound up. They came to the result that the ten vessels of the company in four years—apart from wear and tear—had cost the company 15.000 rigsdaler. Still, the Greenland trade was considered profitable and worth keeping up, at any rate as long as the Government grant was continued. In the years 1761—1770 the profit on the Greenland trade was increased by an average yearly sum of 2513 rigsdaler, in addition to the 1500 rigsdaler paid annually as interest on the invested capital; in 1771

this capital amounted to 75.000 rigsdaler of which 11.400 was in articles of trade and 30.500 in reserve. The expenses of the mission had been reduced to 2333 rigsdaler, so that the 4667 rigsdaler which remained of the Government grant was net profit.

THE ROYAL MONOPOLY TRADE.

The great war between England and North America, also comprising France, Spain and Holland, paralyzed the shipping trade of these countries. This trade was then taken over by the neutral countries and, during the whole period of the war, was carried on with immense profit, especially by Denmark-Norway. The Prime Minister Hoegh-Guldberg and the Treasurer Schimmelmann were both equally alive to the possibilities of this favourable opportunity. The Government wanted to be traders and shipowners on a large scale, and the Danish shipbuilding yards, at a rather forced rate, built one vessel after another for the development of the whale, seal, cod and herring fisheries in the northern seas.

On the recommendation of the Directorate General of Taxation the Government, by Orders of Council of April 28th, May 9th and 16th, 1774, took over the Iceland and the Finmark trade, and a year later (on April 13th) it was resolved that this was to be separated entirely from the Greenland trade, which, on the other hand, was to be combined with that of the Faroe Islands, each with their own directors. The sum paid for the Greenland trade was 128.177 rigsdaler, the amount of 42.305 rigsdaler being written off as a loss.

From January 1st, 1776, and till our own days the Greenland trade has, without interruption, been carried on at the cost of the Government, and with a view to support it the King on March 18th, in the same year, issued new regulations and prohibitions against illicit trading in Greenland. The Royal Greenland "Trade" or Trading Company should have the sole right of navigating and trading in the settlements which had already been founded, or might be founded, in the future in Greenland and the appertaining islands in Strait Davis and Disko Bay, and all other present harbours and stations between lats. 60° and 73°. Thus, both Danish subjects and foreigners were forbidden to trade with the Greenlanders or the Danish settlers, and so all vessels, met off these coasts by royal and Danish cruisers, were bound to submit to the right of search. No one on land or at sea was permitted to rob the Greenlanders of anything, to take them out of the country or to do violence to them or to Danish settlers, and the privileged traders were empowered to attack, seize and confiscate vessel and cargo and to take them to Copenhagen, where such cases were to be investigated and

tried by the Admiralty. Whoever in an emergency, as for instance by shipwreck or for want of fresh water, was forced to go to a port on Greenland should not be prevented from doing so, although he was not permitted to stay longer than strictly necessary. Anyone who was guilty of illicit trading or other infringements should be punished in the manner stated above.

In order to make this order effective, the armed vessel "Louisenborg" was sent up in the spring of the same year to cruise in Davis Strait, to look for illicit traders and also to navigate Ũmánaq and Upernivik.

Even before the Government had taken over the trade, an order had been issued on April 18th, 1775, that fifty howkers should be built for the whale and seal fisheries off Greenland (Spitzbergen) and Straat Davis, which vessels were estimated at a total cost of 200.000 rigsdaler. As a start 6 whaling captains and 200 sailors were taken on from Aabenraa, Sønderborg, Flensborg and Eckernförde. The King himself gave an armed vessel to be used in this enterprise, and in that year eight vessels were sent up to Davis Strait.

When everything required for the whale and seal fisheries was completed, the equipment had in all cost 1.144.140 rigsdaler, of which 234.000 rigsdaler was for 9 whaling vessels with equipment; 25 snows with appurtenances had in all cost 525.000 rigsdaler, and 258 ships' boats 19.040 rigsdaler, two store-houses 50.000 rigsdaler each, wages to the crews of the 34 vessels 30.500 rigsdaler, whaling stations 36.000 rigsdaler and wages for the crews stationed in Greenland 79.600 rigsdaler.

In the years 1775 to 1781, the number of expeditions supplied with implements for whaling and sealing—partly in Davis Strait and partly off Spitzbergen—amounted to 120 all told, including those equipped for winter fishing, *viz.* 9 trips in 1775—76, 17 in 1777, 41 in 1778, 26 in 1779, 15 in 1780 and 12 in 1781.

But nevertheless the great expectations entertained of this comprehensive venture failed entirely, the result of the many expeditions made in the course of these six years being 204 whales only. This was partly due to the vessels having been built hurriedly, without waiting for the necessary experiences being made as to the serviceability of the different types, partly because the Copenhagen equipment had been much more expensive than expected. When compared with those of other nations, the fisheries were in themselves not unsuccessful except the winter operations, which were consequently discontinued at the end of 1778.

The directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company from the very first worked with great energy to further the trade, warmly supported by Høegh-Guldberg. As long as he remained in power, his influence can be traced on many points; thus he appointed and dismissed directors, and he sent out able men to investigate the northern settlements and expressed his displeasure in very sharp terms at the misconduct of some skippers.

On the strength of journals and reports, sent in by the traders at the Greenland settlements, the directors collected the experience hitherto gained on the possibility of carrying on rational whaling, and they were fortunate enough to meet with the most active encouragement in this enterprise from men who worked with great ability and zeal in the service of the trade, and who had already, on their own initiative, indicated the road which should be followed in the future.

The example of Holsteinsborg, which was described as an important establishment and the best known settlement in Greenland, had already shown "what Disko might become". Since 1762 it had been managed by Niels Egede with his ample experience and rare sense of duty, and he remained there until the age of seventy, when he took leave of the country where he had first come as a boy, and to which he had devoted all his strength and affection. To his "excessive diligence", as Guldberg expresses himself, "we are indebted for all that Greenland may become", and in 1774 the Government honoured his merits on behalf of Greenland by awarding him the ring *pro meritis*. Like his brother Povl, Niels Egede was an able and dexterous craftsman, and with a view to whaling he had made models of harpoons, blubber-knives and other implements. The sum of his experience at Holsteinsborg was as follows: Whaling was profitable, but for the time being no whaling vessel should be stationed there, as it was impossible to carry on whaling in winter, but, in the spring, vessels should be sent up to Disko so as to forestall the foreign whalers. For the furthering of the Greenlandic-Danish whale-fisheries, two ships' boats should always be stationed there, with the necessary able crews consisting of a carpenter (sometimes also a cooper and a smith) and 6 to 8 sailors, to be supplied with good accommodation and clothes and bound to observe order and cleanliness. The Greenlanders who were engaged in the same enterprise should be supplied with good clothing, implements and provisions, and there ought to be a sufficient supply of sealskins for boats and clothing.

The settler, Svend Sandgreen, a Swede by birth, had served under Niels Egede and had worked his way up, until he was entrusted with the establishment of the settlement of Godhavn (1773) which he managed with great ability. He had carried on whaling together with Danes and Greenlanders and had met with great success. The harbour not being free from ice until the middle of June, he did not think that whalers could spend the winter there with any chance of advantage. In the 'spring whaling vessels ought to be sent up to Disko and call at Godhavn in order that the trader might go with them, not only with ships' boats but also with umiaqs, so as to be able to secure the extremely necessary assistance of the Greenlanders. For the whale-fishery and the very profitable *savssat*¹, additional crews were required of up to 16 men. When the whale fishery was concluded

¹ *savssat* i. e. shoal of smaller whales, locked into holes in the ice.

in these parts, which would be at the end of May, it ought to be continued at Klokkerhuk until the middle of June. The traders should keep the Greenlanders to the settlement, by taking care of them in times of need, by providing them with good commodities and by encouraging them with rewards.

The trader at Jacobshavn was the efficient C. C. Dalager, the former trader at Frederikshaab and the founder of Ritenbenk. He was also very much interested in the development of the whale fishery, and experience had taught him that the south point of Klokkerhuk became free from ice at an earlier season than any other place in Disko Bay, and that the whales came there before the foreign whaling captains made their appearance. Also Dalager required ships' boats with umiaqs to accompany them; the vessel visiting Holsteinsborg should proceed to Jacobshavn and spend the winter there in order to carry on winter whaling, and for this purpose a spacious winter house should be built, and clothing, provisions, fuel and medicine provided for the crews stationed there. At Rode Bay, slightly north of Jacobshavn, was a good site for a harbour where one or more whaling vessels might be stationed for the winter.

Ritenbenk should be moved to Zwartevoegelbay, where whaling could be carried on throughout the winter and in the months of April and May. Here there was also seal and white whale fishing, a good harbour and ample fuel. The reports of the traders clearly showed that they would rather be rid of the whalers, who caused them a good deal of trouble, although, on the other hand, they quite realized that they were essential if this work was to thrive.

The first step made by the directors was to realize their project of establishing stations at the whale fields along the whole of the inhabited coast, and of carrying out the plans which the first settlers of the country had set forth ever since the founding of the whaling station at Nipisat, which had been destroyed by the Dutch, exactly half a century ago.

The start was made with Godhavn and Holsteinsborg. Already on April 18th, 1775, it had been resolved that whaling crews, ships' boats and casks should be sent up to both places and also materials for dwelling-houses for the men. As the vessels already engaged in the trade were unable to hold all this, it was further resolved that a small frigate—a present from the King to the company—which had been named the "Holsteinsborg" should be used for this purpose. With a captain, a crew and four ships' boats it was sent up to the said places to carry on whaling, in concert with the traders. In 1775 a dwelling-house was erected at Godhavn, in the following year one more, and the produce sent home amounted to 206 barrels of whale and 21 barrels of seal blubber, and 1100 pieces of baleen. In 1776 5 vessels from Godhavn were engaged in whaling, the number of whales caught amounting to 6; in the following years the vessels were sent up in

September and wintered at Godhavn, Fortune Bay and Walvis Eilander: they engaged in fishing during the spring and left for home in June, being again sent up in the autumn.

In the first year after the Government had taken over the Greenland trade, it yielded 31.758 rigsdaler in all, *viz.* 2.083 casks of seal oil and 2.360 sealskins; further, 3 whales were caught, yielding 200 barrels of whale oil of the value of 3360 rigsdaler, the net profit for the year being 4.311 rigsdaler.

The fact that the results of these whaling trips were from the first comparatively poor, was first and foremost due to the great number of experienced foreign whalers, as well as to the extensive illicit trading which they carried on. Thus Greenland was, for instance, in 1776, visited by 32 English vessels (among which 7 were from Hull, 6 from Whithy, 6 from Liverpool, 4 from London) which carried on whaling in Davis Strait, catching 136 animals of the value of 986.310 rigsdaler, while 3 vessels from Hamburg caught 7 whales of the value of 16.700 rigsdaler.

The year 1777 was a disastrous one in the history of the navigation of Greenland on account of the great shipwreck suffered by the Dutch and Hamburg whalers off the east coast. 25 vessels were crushed by the masses of ice; some of the crews saved their lives by drifting on ice floes along the coast round Statenhuk, and were rescued in a very pitiable state by the inhabitants of the settlements and outposts in the southern districts. On October 25th the first survivors, 17 men in all, came drifting in to Narssalik in a ship's boat; a few days later, 19 men from a Hamburg vessel; on December 15th, 15 men, natives of Zordam, arrived in two umiaqs. On March 13th, in the following spring, a captain from Hamburg with 10 men came drifting in to Arsuk, after having lived through the winter on mussels and seaweed. Later on, more survivors arrived at the settlements, having wintered or found shelter among the Greenlanders, and both at Frederikshaab and Julianehaab the shipwrecked people met with a very kind reception and careful nursing. As the result of this tremendous catastrophe, the Dutch whaling expeditions to Davis Strait decreased rapidly in the following years, and the voyages from Hamburg were entirely discontinued. In 1783 only 9 Dutch vessels made their appearance in the Strait; in 1785 only a single one; and then again, in the years 1790—93, 13—14 vessels annually, the catch amounting to 10, 17 and 2 whales respectively. In comparison it may be added that the Dutch profit on the whale-fisheries and trading on Greenland in the period 1729—38 amounted to as much as 1.947.000 gulden, during which period Greenland was navigated by no less than 975 vessels, and although this must be considered a record period, the number of vessels visiting Greenland during the following decades, were 368, 340, 206 and 434 respectively.

Also for the Danes the whale-fishery failed almost entirely in 1777, but the Treasurer Count Schimmelmann justly took comfort in the thought that all the vessels reached home in safety.

The difficulties connected with the Greenland trade, the manner in which it was carried on, and the disappointments attending whaling as practised in those days are very well illustrated by the journal of the vessel "Baron E. Schimmelmann". This journal which happens to be preserved, was kept by the commander Christen Johansen de Jonge, who spent the winter 1777—78 at Disko. The vessel left Elsinore on June 12th and anchored at Læssø; it was driven back to Elsinore by contrary winds, but got off again and reached Cape Farewell as late as October 25th. In the strait it fell in with a good deal of wreckage from the foundered vessels, but it managed to get into the ice belt; on November 6th, Godthaab was sighted, and finally, on November 20th, the vessel reached its destination, Godhavn. On December 1st the boats were sent out in the short winter day of only a few hours' of twilight; on the 17th the crew moved into the newly built house and erected a wooden shed; and from then onwards the ship's boats went out, time after time, but although they frequently caught sight of whales, they could not get near them. After the new year the ice broke up and ran aground at Fortune Bay. On January 10th the captain said disconsolately that it had been impossible to catch anything. On January 26th they set off with 7 ships' boats and an umiaq with Greenlanders, who were promised a share of the profit. On February 4th they cut a hole in the ice, and caught 2½ barrel of fish. Ten days later the new ice had formed so that the ships' boats were unable to proceed. The Greenlanders felt no inclination for the whale fishery, and they shot at the animals with their rifles and thus frightened them away. If they managed to catch hold of an animal with the harpoon, it escaped, or the lines, which turned out to be of poor quality, burst. Finally, on the 22nd, the ice broke up, offering the opportunity of a good catch, and in the next few days two whales were killed. On March 24th the ships' boats were hauled for a distance of 1200 strides across the ice, and one more whale was secured. On April 6th the first vessel, an English one, was sighted; it had left home on January 20th. In the following days 6 vessels arrived from Denmark, but their total catch only amounted to 4 whales. In addition as many as 16 foreign vessels were sighted, but unlike former years they had seen no whales. The crews suffered greatly from scurvy, and ten men were lying ill in their bunks. On May 20th the vessel left Godhavn, bound for home, made its way through a fleet of whalers in the strait, and on May 24th it arrived off Cape Farewell. The ravages of the scurvy increased so that there were not half the number of men required for the watches, and several attempts were made to secure vegetables in some form or other from passing vessels, but in vain. The winds being favourable, the vessel reached Elsinore on June 20th, after one year's absence.

When the vessels returned in the autumn of 1777, it turned out that the whale fisheries both in Strait Davis and off Spitzbergen had failed

that year, and the directors entrusted the head of the outfitting department and the experienced Spitzbergen captain, Riewert Klassen from Föhr, with the task of examining the journals of the captains. The two experts arrived at the result that it was upon the whole difficult to decide whether the captains had been wanting in courage and enterprise, or whether they had only met with bad luck; four of them, it was proved, had operated in partnership, first two and two, and later all four together, and they had left the fishing grounds before the vessels of the other nations; the sealers had not arrived in time, and a few of the captains had never before commanded a vessel. The directors then asked Klassen to approach the experienced and efficient captains from Scotland, Holland and Hamburg on their return to their native countries, and to try to persuade them to enter the service of the company on the same conditions as they had had before. For the extended whaling, the company required in all twelve captains, five for Straat Davis, six for the seal-killing and one for Spitzbergen.

In the year 1778 when it was impressed upon the directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, by a Royal Order, that such an important enterprise ought not to fail owing to lack of good will, resolution or for some other foolish reason, several whaling stations were established in Disko Bay, for instance under Godhavn, which was managed by a whaling assistant and was provided with a crew consisting of a carpenter and 6—8 sailors. From 1782 a vessel was stationed in this place; every spring it was supplied with provisions from Godhavn, and then went whaling even as far as Ũmánaq Bay. In that year the whaling establishment, "Godhavns Næs," was founded, under the management of a whaling assistant with a staff consisting of a blubber-cutter, a cook and 6 sailors. The short distance between these three stations and the maintenance of so many people, however, caused considerable inconvenience.

On the northern side of the harbour mouth an establishment had been founded in 1777, under the Jacobshavn station; it was managed by an assistant trader and consisted of three wooden-frame houses and six ships' boats with whaling implements. The whaling soon yielded such rich profits that the population, encouraged by the clergyman, started a collection of products (blubber and baleen) for the purpose of building a church, and already in 1779 it was possible to send up the materials for it. The station, the place in the district most convenient for trade, and at that time inhabited by 600 people, was raised to a settlement, and the whaling establishment was incorporated with it.

On Klokkehuk Island, which at that time belonged to Jacobshavn and later on to Ritenbenk and which Høegh-Guldberg, in 1778, named Arveprinsens Eiland, whaling had already been carried on in 1775 by the trader from Jacobshavn, and a few years later a whaling station was founded in that place. In 1781 the Ritenbenk settlement was moved to Zwartevogel-

bay, as it had been named by the Dutch, and at the same time a whaling station was established with a frame house and provided with a staff consisting of a whaling assistant and 5 Danish sailors, but the situation chosen was unfavourable, and the station yielded no profit. Later on, in 1783, a whaling station was founded at Igdlutsiaq; but its buildings consisted of a framehouse and a blubber-house made of turf and stone, and the number of people employed there were an assistant trader and 5 sailors. In 1777 the mining expert Schram, on the initiative of the directors, had undertaken a voyage of investigation in order to examine the coal beds in Voigat, and this voyage also became, in other respects, of great importance for the whole of the district. In 1782 the Ritenbenk coal mine was opened, with a foreman and 8 Danish workmen.

In 1778 a whaling station was established under Egedesminde on the small groups of islands at the mouth of Disko Bay which were called Whale Islands by the English, Walvis Eilander by the Dutch and were now re-christened Kronprinsens Eilander. It was managed by an assistant trader and whaler and a crew, for whose accommodation three houses were built. In 1782 it was made an independent establishment, being since 1784 managed by a trader.

On Vester Eilander a whaling station was established in 1778, but it was already deserted in 1786.

The Icefiord whaling station which had been established in 1780 was attached to Claushavn. At first it provided accommodation for one assistant trader and a few sailors, but in 1782 it was extended and became an establishment on a large scale.

Even in the isolated northern settlement of Ũmánaq the directors caused a new store-house to be built.

Further, also in 1778, Qerrortussoq was established as a whaling station under Holsteinsborg; it was separated from the settlement in 1789 and thus became an independent station, but it was given up in 1801, when practically the whole of the population was carried away by a small-pox epidemic. In 1781 the Sukkertoppen settlement was moved to its present situation at Manítsoq, where also a whaling station was established, without, however, yielding any profit.

Of special importance in the colonizing of South Greenland was the establishment of the Julianehaab settlement, which was founded on the suggestions of the trader Anders Olsen.

Even the rediscovery of the old eastern settlement was included in the programme of the new company, and one of its directors, Jón Erichsen, elaborated an exhaustive report on the best means of attaining this end.

On May 1st, 1781, a change took place in the management of the trade of Greenland, which was again united with that of Iceland, the Finmark and the Faroes under the name of the Royal Greenland, Iceland, Finmark

and Faroes Trading Company, and this arrangement continued for thirty years, until the end of 1810. A board of directors were appointed for these united trades, which should always include two of the officials of the Treasury, with the right of reporting directly to the King on behalf of the board, in all matters concerning the united trades. Under this board the management should consist of three managing directors, one for the Iceland and Finmark trade, one for the Faroes and one for the Greenland trade, each taking charge of all the routine business of his own department; and two offices were opened for this purpose, one for the Greenland affairs and one for the three other trades, with an accountant, an outfitting and a warehouse department.

For the combined trades a total amount of 2.000.000 rigsdaler was set aside, of which 950.000 rigsdaler was for the Greenland trade only, the assets of the latter further being made to comprise all that the company possessed on April 30th of that year, *viz.* 11 settlements with buildings and fixtures, stores of merchandise and outstanding debts, the train-oil factory and various other workshops and premises in and near Copenhagen; 19 vessels, built and fitted out partly for whaling and sealing, partly for the navigation of the settlements, five of them being of 122—105, the other on an average of 70 commercial lasts; to these were, later on, added the frigate "Den ny Prove" and the yacht "Proven," and the total value was estimated at 505.000 rigsdaler, of which the settlements only were estimated at 71.500, the buildings in Copenhagen at 122.000 rigsdaler, and the vessels at 300.000 rigsdaler.

TRADERS AND OTHER OFFICIALS.

The instructions regulating the Greenland trade, which were issued on April 19th, 1782, and for nearly a century have made the foundation of the administration of the country, pointed to many errors and defects in the old system, and introduced order where hitherto there had been utter confusion; also, and more particularly by the humane care of the native population displayed in them, they stand as a memorial of the times and the men, to whom we are indebted for them, and for this reason they deserve to be known, even at the present day, in their main features.

The trader was earnestly instructed to associate with the Greenlanders in a sensible and careful manner, to distribute them among the best sealing grounds, to encourage them to diligence, economy and the trades which, according to the season, must be considered most profitable, to instruct them in fishing and the right manner of intercourse, to exhort them to enter into partnership or reasonable contracts with the Danish whalers, when and where it was required by circumstances; in short, to attend to their interests in all matters. Without offending the inhabitants or depriving

them of necessities, the trader should purchase betimes and send home by the first vessel all products available within his district. Further he should, to the best of his ability, oppose illicit trading and, therefore, desist from all private trade whether with Europeans or with Greenlanders, his own people or foreigners. Finally, he should keep regular accounts and a daily journal.

The assistant trader should help the trader in his business, undertake the journeys and trading expeditions which he himself was unable to make, supervise the employées and crews and weigh provisions; further he should assist the trader in his writing and other necessary work. In all respects, and especially in cases where resolutions must be made quickly, the trader should apply to the Royal Inspector and submit to his orders, as if they had been issued by the directors themselves.

The trader must, in his personal conduct, set a good example to those under him, and see to it that the employées and crews of the station led decent lives, attended divine service and morning and evening prayers and did not indulge in behaviour which might shock and scandalize the Greenlanders.

In order to prevent immoral intercourse between the Greenlanders and sailors spending the winter in Greenland, and other Europeans, the trader, together with the missionary, should select elderly women to attend to their wants. These were to be needy widows and wives of poor breadwinners, whereas especially young Greenland women should, if possible, be exempt from accompanying Europeans on their voyages, so as not to be led into temptation. Under pain of the most severe punishment it was forbidden to make the inhabitants drunk with beer and spirits; also, to treat them freely to coffee, tea and other European articles, as such things would impair their health, spoil their manner of living and incline them to spend their days in the houses of the Europeans. It was forbidden to give the Greenlanders gin, the penalty for this being 10 rigsdaler or corporal punishment. The crews were not allowed to while away their time in the houses of the Greenlanders, nor to appear there at suspicious hours—late at night or early in the morning, or when the husbands were out sealing or fishing—but only in their lawful business and with the permission of the trader. Anyone who was found guilty of immoral conduct and, due warning being given, persevered therein, should be sent home by the first vessel. The father of illegitimate children should, until such children had completed their twelfth year, pay six rigsdaler a year for their maintenance, and were not permitted to leave the service of the trading company until the sum was paid in full. If the paternity were not established until later, the father should, wherever he was found, by legal prosecution be made to pay the whole sum or to work it off.

The instructions, further, contain a provision on the preservation of the eiderduck which is in itself very interesting. When collecting down, care

should be taken not to frighten away the birds or to chase them from the places where they were still to be found. The trader should, in a kind and sensible manner, persuade the Greenlanders not to ill-treat the young of these birds or take away their eggs without any reason, as frequently happened. Danes were not allowed to collect eiderdown, as this was reserved for the Greenlanders; neither were they, in the brooding period, allowed to destroy or chase away the birds by firing at them, to kill their young or to take away their eggs. Infringements of these regulations were punished with fines of 2—10 rigsdaler.

Also the instructions, which were issued on July 29th in the same year for the crews of whalers wintering in Greenland, bear testimony to the greatest care and a working plan, thought out in the minutest details, to prevent the coarseness and immorality, which—as was shown by the sad experiences from preceding years—the crews of whalers had introduced among the native population at the Disko Bay settlements.

When arriving at the place of destination the captain of the whaling vessel should put into harbour and unrig the vessel; this being done, the ship's boats should at once be equipped for the fishing trip, and with well covered lines they should be taken to the place where they were to be stationed. Before the beginning of the whaling season the captain was to instruct and practice his sailors in all the turns of the fishing trade, especially, to row, to steer and to throw harpoons. In this manner he would get to know his crew so as to be able to select able steersmen. When the whales might be expected, a look-out should be kept from a mountain. That everything might be ready and in order on the whaling grounds, when it became sufficiently light to see the whales and to manoeuvre with some degree of accuracy, the boats should be at their post at half past nine in the morning on the shortest days of the six weeks' dark period, and from then onwards at an earlier and still earlier hour. In April and May when the whales generally appear early in the morning and towards evening, a watch should be kept throughout the night, from five to six in the evening till nine o'clock in the morning. If the Greenlanders were willing to enter into partnership with the captain, a contract should be concluded with them beforehand as to their share of the catch, whether the whale became harpooned by them or wounded and caught by them or the crew, for instance, 120 rigsdaler for a half and 60 rigsdaler for the quarter of a whale, either in merchandise, or if they demanded their payment in blubber or baleen, their share should immediately be put by for them.

When the winter fishing was ended, and the casks were filled with blubber and the baleen cleaned as well as possible, the commander should, by means of ice saws, try to get out of the winter harbour as early as practicable, in order to carry on spring fishing in Sydost Bay and west and north

in Stikkender Jakob's Bay (i. e. Ūmánaq), and then load the native produce and start for home.

The rigorous rules which had been set up regarding the general intercourse between the European settlers and the natives were with particular force applied to the whaling crews. None of the sailors were allowed to visit the houses and tents of the Greenlanders, without being accompanied by an officer of good repute and with the permission of the captain; infringements of this order were, without mercy, to be punished with twenty-four strokes with the rope's end; but if the men had taken gin to the Greenlanders or behaved in an improper manner, they were to be punished with twice that punishment or even more severely. Officers who were guilty of a similar misdemeanour should forfeit a month's pay, and receive a sharp rebuke in the presence of the crew; they might even be degraded for a certain period or for all time. Further, the whalers were forbidden to trade with native boys, neither was it permitted to take on the Greenland boys in the employ of the traders to work in the kitchen or to shoot game for the crews, so as not to wean them from their trade. The captain was authorized to distribute gin to his crews to the best of his judgment, whenever they were in need of it.

The control over all traders and the jurisdiction of the country was entrusted to two inspectors, one for North Greenland and residing at Godhavn, and one for South Greenland with his domicile at Godthaab, their full title as given in the patent dated May 5th, 1782, being "Royal Inspectors of Whaling and Trade." They were given the highest judiciary power in the country, and besides they were enjoined to look after the interests of the trade, to develop the whaling industry, to see to the wants of the natives and to protect them against injustice.

Among the reforms which were the result of the new system, mention must especially be made of the regulations which laid the foundation of a well ordered trade with Greenland. Hitherto the trading intercourse with the natives had been a general bartering in the manner taken over from the Dutch. After the foreign traders had withdrawn from the competition, fairly fixed prices had been settled for the native products, although different for the different settlements, so that articles for use, such as arms and ammunition, stuffs, kerchiefs and shirts were given in exchange for a certain quantity of blubber, and a certain number of skins and baleen. At Frederikshaab, for instance, $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel of blubber was demanded for a water-proof whaling costume; for a linen or blue-checked shirt $\frac{1}{3}$ — $\frac{1}{4}$ barrel of blubber, respectively, but the Greenlanders were frequently given less than their due by unconscientious traders for whom the profit on the native products purchased was of far greater importance than their own low salary. "Blubber, blubber—in full measure!" was their constant cry, as it had been that of the Dutch.

When the first inspectors came to Greenland in 1782, they brought authorized blubber measures, ledgers and letterbooks, and they also brought

a so-called *Generalltakst*, or authorized rate of payment for the commodities imported to the country, the prices being fixed for one year. By this new arrangement the traders were subjected to control and got more work to do than they had hitherto had, which they did not always take kindly to.

A rifle was to be paid for with 8 casks of blubber or 16—32 pieces of baleen, equal to 8—12 walrus tusks, according to their size, or 6 bearskins or 24 blue foxskins; 1 lb of powder cost 2 barrels of blubber, 1—3 pieces of baleen, 1 blue or white foxskin, 4—8 sealskins or 3 lbs of eiderdown. The price of 1 lb of tobacco was 1 barrel of blubber etc. As there were no means of currency or ready money, the remedy was resorted to of giving to the producer an “addition” corresponding with the difference between the prices of the native products purchased and the European commodities which the producer wanted to acquire; but the addition—and this proved very unpractical—was indissolubly bound up with one special group of commodities, as for instance, by the purchase of kerchiefs a small pair of scissors, a coarse file or $\frac{1}{8}$ lb of tobacco.

As this system proved impracticable, an account was opened for each producer which, when settled, showed a balance in his debit or credit. However, the arrangement unfortunately led to the borrowing system, and the obligation of the new trader to collect his predecessor's debts among the Greenlanders, who in times of need besieged the shop with wild and hungry looks, so that in the long run one could not help taking pity on them.

According to the general rate of payment all commodities were divided into four categories: 1) necessities sold at prices which were 12 per cent over the value in the European market; 2) articles of use with 30 per cent and 3) luxuries with 40 per cent added to the cost price, both for Danes and Greenlanders; 4) commodities and provisions for the Danes only, on which the trading company charged a profit of 20 per cent. Considering the expensive navigation of Greenland, the expenses of the trade, and the losses incurred by return commodities, the profit cannot be called unreasonable.

As necessities were reckoned shooting requisites, haberdashery (linen, kerchiefs, thread) woollen goods (blankets and jerseys), hardware and woodenware (trading chests, boards, laths and poles) copper and tinware. Articles of use comprised kerseys, mittens, hose, *vadmel* (a coarse woollen fabric), three kinds of tobacco and pepper. As luxuries were reckoned calico, silk kerchiefs, silk ribbons, wristlets, beads, mirrors, doll's clothes, cups and saucers etc. To the same class belonged, for the Danes only, cottons, flannels, soft-soap, wigs and Danish bibles; various groceries, coffee beans, sugar candy, tea, dried plums and spices.

This artificial classification was already given up in 1796, as it was very hard to make the Greenlanders understand it. In utter ignorance of actual conditions in the country and the needs of the natives, the represent-

atives of the Royal Greenland Trading Company kept on tempting the Greenlanders with increased assortments of useless things and various kinds of tobacco, which in 1805 were even included among necessities, while soft-soap for a long time was reserved for the Danes.

The instructions of 1782, it is true, contained a warning against weaning the native population from their natural food by supplying them with Danish provisions, which should only be given to them during the strenuous whaling period and in case of illness and need. In 1792 this provision was enforced, however, with the restriction that provisions should not be sold to the Greenlanders except when in extreme want or by order of the inspector. The steadily increasing fear on the part of the directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company that the taste for Danish provisions should tempt the Greenlanders to engage in illicit trading gave rise to the resolution that they should be permitted to sell seal- and foxskins and half of their down for bread, grits, peas, coffee, sugar and tea. At the same time notes of credit were being circulated as a means of currency, and thus the first step was made towards the release of the trade.

The establishment of the northern inspectorate with Godhavn as its seat, did not bring about the expected result, *viz.* that the foreign whalers should come to feel a greater respect for the local authorities. On the contrary, conditions grew rather worse. The first inspector complains of the reckless obstinacy of the strangers and their flagrant robberies. The "wretched" gin, supplied by the vessels, lures everything from the Greenlanders, indeed, the very fur coats off their backs; it even keeps them from fishing and causes disturbances among them. As late as 1787 there were more than sixty English and seven Dutch vessels in the bay, and the Greenlanders were greatly attracted by the splendid merchandise of the English—beads, china, silk ribbons, flannel shirts etc—and adultery, immorality, drinking and thefts became the order of the day. On one vessel some natives, both men and women, were taken onboard; they were given drink until they became utterly senseless, and then they were landed on a desert island. When the inspectors went on their rounds, they everywhere found drunken Greenlanders lying about on the rocks. Time after time they reported that unless the iniquities of the foreigners were checked by a "dictatorial command" on the part of the Government, the Danish trade and whaling would perish. For fear of the English Government the directors dared not act upon the advice of the inspectors, *viz.* to forbid access to foreigners up to 4 miles from the shore and to station an armed vessel at Godhavn, empowered to seize any vessel which acted contrary to the said injunction. However, the coast vessel stationed there was provided with fire-arms, and the inspector was also authorized to fire a shot to warn foreign vessels, when in spite of admonitions they became guilty of infringement, and when this proved of no avail, to fire at them. As had formerly been the case

with the Dutch, it was difficult for the Government to enforce their will against the English; the friendly relations between the countries must be maintained, and the Danes, when provisions became scarce, were obliged to turn to the foreigners for assistance, and also for the carrying of the mail to the mother country.

The years 1781—87 decidedly mark a period of prosperity in the history of the Greenland trade. In 1781 as many as thirteen vessels were sent up to Greenland, the total profit amounting to 103.554 rigsdaler; in 1782 only six vessels, the catch amounting to 50.000 rigsdaler; in 1783 eight vessels with cargoes to the value of 21.482 rigsdaler; that year, however, was particularly unlucky, as two vessels were wrecked. In each of the years 1784—86 ten vessels went up to Greenland, the total profit amounting to 23.348, 58.000 and 45.000, respectively. In 1787 twelve vessels were sent up, the total profit, however, only amounting to 48.000 rigsdaler, or 4000 rigsdaler for each vessel, the average profit for all sixty-nine cargoes according to this only being 5000 rigsdaler. From the total income during these years, *viz.* 350.000 rigsdaler, must further be deducted the expenses for the rigging and unrigging of the vessels, reparations etc, and board and wages for 35—40 men on each vessel for a period of three to three and a half months. During the thirteen years from 1776 to 1788 the total figure was 298.570 rigsdaler, the 153.247 falling upon the eight years from 1781 to 1788, not however, including the interest of the capital of 950.000 rigsdaler. When also reckoning the interest and the presumptive loss on the articles of trade, the total loss during the whole period 1781—88 might be reckoned at 572.000 rigsdaler in all or 71.500 rigsdaler annually, irrespective of the fact that the state of the market was extremely favorable during this period. The total profit on the trade which employed twelve vessels with 1072 commercial lasts for the years 1781—87 only amounted to an annual average of 133.000 rigsdaler, reckoned at sale prices. At the end of 1780 the Royal Greenland Trading Company—besides the frigate "Proven" of 108 commercial lasts and valued at 20.500 rigsdaler—possessed thirteen vessels, of which the four were of 109—140 commercial lasts, at a total value of 236.460 rigsdaler. All houses, vessels, materials, and fixtures, merchandise and provisions at the thirteen settlements and six stations, Arveprinsens Eiland and the coal mine Ũmánaq, were valued at a million kroner in 1785.

For the purpose of investigating ways and means of a more profitable trade, possibly by opening up the country, a commission was appointed on the representation of the Treasury, and the results of its consultations were briefly as follows:

It was considered far too risky to repeal the monopoly, as the Greenlanders had no idea of arithmetic or the relative value of things; but were apt to pay all that was demanded for what they wished, so that they gave away their most indispensable necessities for gin, coffee, tobacco and luxuries,

and selfish people might take advantage of their low stage of culture to exploit them to the uttermost.

Thus, out of regard to the native population no less than to the claims of the Treasury the commission did not dare to advise the abolition of the trade monopoly, but set forth a number of proposals for reforms which it was thought would safeguard the interests of both parties. By a Royal resolution of 1790 the trade was organized on a new basis.

In this connection should be mentioned, as especially interesting, the report written by the expert member of this commission, the former Icelandic merchant, Carl Pontoppidan. It was accompanied by detailed appendixes, and was presented to the public (1792) in the magazine, edited by himself, for the spreading of useful knowledge regarding the "organization and constitution of the Royal Danish States", and it must be regarded as a criticism of the reorganization of Greenland. For the sake of the Greenlanders, a "still quite uncivilized and roaming people, without laws or currency," he found it necessary before the trade monopoly was abolished, to spend a period of six to ten years in serious work in order to prepare the natives for the consequences of the opening up of the country, and this should be done by an improved educational system, by instructing the young people of the country in navigation and agriculture on a European pattern, a result which might best be obtained by moving four or five families there from Iceland and as many from Norway and Jutland.

The joint-stock companies made up of Copenhagen or provincial merchants, who in the fulness of time might be imagined to be willing to take over the Greenland trade, should enjoy all the privileges granted to the Royal Greenland Trading Company, such as exemption from duty and consumption etc. and take over the Greenland Fund against a yearly interest of 2 per cent for a period of six to ten years, while in return undertaking the yearly provisioning of all settlements. The articles necessary for whaling, sealing etc. were to be sold to the Greenlanders, at cost price, or with a profit of 4 per cent at the outside; for other necessities a profit of 12 per cent might be charged, for articles of use 30 per cent, and for luxuries 46 per cent.

The seat of the trade should rather be Norway than Copenhagen which was a more expensive place, the former country being furthermore considerably nearer to Greenland; as suitable seats for the trade were mentioned Bergen, Christianssand or Trondhjem with their ice-free harbours. As captains of the vessels should be appointed men from Holsten, and the crews were to consist of Norwegian sailors who were far better qualified for the navigation of Greenland than those who had been taken on in Copenhagen. For the furtherance and safeguarding of the navigation of the country, surveyings of harbours were to be undertaken and good charts made, at the expense of the Danish Government.

According to Pontoppidan the accounts of the Greenland trade should be as follows: The tonnage necessary for the navigation of the country would be 7—8 vessels of medium size; the wages and maintenance of 2 trading inspectors, 34 traders and 161 assistant traders would amount to 17.475 rigsdaler; wages for the employées of the Copenhagen offices to 7000 rigsdaler; expenses connected with freighting and the real property and fixtures in Greenland and Copenhagen to 6000 rigsdaler; the *cargaisons* sent up to Greenland were estimated at 70.000 rigsdaler of which provisions for the Danish traders at about 17.000 rigsdaler, so that the necessities of the Greenlanders might be estimated at 53.000 rigsdaler. As expenses must further be reckoned the 7000 rigsdaler which were the annual grant from the Royal Treasury; the loss incurred by the exemption of duty and consumption on the merchandise exported to Greenland, and finally the loss of interest on 1.000.000 rigsdaler, the capital which was handed over to the Royal Greenland Trading Company in 1781.

The writer strongly emphasizes the unreasonable disproportion of the sums required for the maintenance of the few Danes and about eight thousand Greenlanders, and before all he enjoins the directors to limit the number of Danish workmen in Greenland, who should be replaced by young Greenlanders trained as coopers, ship's and ordinary carpenters in Denmark or, by preference, in Norway where they might also learn the cod fishery as carried on there.

In the period 1790—1807 the local fields of production underwent various changes, both from the point of view of administration and trade. The most northerly settlement, Upernivik, founded in 1771, was given up in 1790 owing to its unhealthy situation, but from 1793 vessels came there every year from Godhavn, and as these expeditions yielded a constantly increasing profit, 1346 rigsdaler in 1794, and 2740 rigsdaler in 1795, besides 2000 rigsdaler for whale oil, it was established in 1796 as an experimental station under Godhavn; in 1806 it once more became an independent settlement, although this did not increase its production.

Ũmánaq, where sealing was carried on by the natives, partly in kayaks and partly with rifles on the ice, and by the Danes and some halfbreeds by means of net hunting, had made very rapid progress in the course of the years. In 1797 the Europeans, by this method, caught 2000 seals; in 1805, 2200, and in 1806 even 3200, which yielded 370 barrels of blubber and 2817 good skins, and the results obtained were further improved by offers of silver prizes for the luckiest and most diligent sealers. A number of outposts, now more or less vanished, were founded from Ũmánaq, among others Uvkusigssat, in 1794, with halibut fisheries. On Unbekendt Eiland a whaling establishment was founded with the name of St. Peders Haab, but it was already abandoned in 1804. In the period 1792—98 there were in all 22 fishing stations; the catch was everywhere carried to the

settlement on sledges, the price per load being a quarter of a pound of tobacco.

The station at Ritenbenk was raised to a settlement in 1790 and had its most flourishing period about the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. The average yearly income was estimated at more than 3000 rigsdaler. In 1799 Arveprinsens Eiland was put under the new settlement. At the deserted Nûgssuaq a "trial" station was founded in 1794 and peopled with Greenlanders. As the place turned out to be profitable, it was in 1799 made "a trading and whaling station" with a halfbreed as manager.

The whaling at Godhavn yielded good profits about the end of the century, culminating in 1804, when 20 large animals were caught; but then it began to fall off. As late as 1798 the inspector declared Godhavn to be the most important establishment in North Greenland; its annual minimum profit being even estimated at 4000 rigsdaler. In 1791 Fortune Bay was abandoned, and the vessel stationed there was removed to Godhavn. Bad luck attended the navigation; in 1790 the coasting vessel was wrecked, and in the following year it was replaced by a new one which suffered the same fate, and the navigation by means of large coasting vessels was then given up. From 1791 coal was mined at Skansen which was considered as belonging to the whaling establishment.

In this period Jacobshavn was regarded as one of the most productive settlements in Greenland; this was particularly owing to the net hunting which was carried on with great zeal, although soon with rapidly dwindling profits. Also Egedesminde was an excellent place for net hunting, about the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, on an average supplying 50—60 barrels of blubber and about 700 sealskins annually. In 1794 cod and halibut fisheries were started in order to remedy the great want prevailing among the inhabitants. The gathering of down was the chief trade, yielding 1000 lbs annually. At Rifkol with its safe and spacious harbour the Rifkol "trial" was established with a foreman and two qualified sailors to facilitate trade, to save vessels running aground there, to attract the Greenlanders to the good whaling and sealing grounds, and to prevent the illicit trading of the English. However, the results obtained were small: the Greenlanders went away, and so the house built here, in 1797, was moved to Vester Eilander, which with its look-out rock was very conveniently situated for whaling, and where a couple of years previously a whaling station had been founded, though with indifferent results.

Holsteinsborg, the most northerly of the settlements in South Greenland, the chief trade of which was whaling, was checked in its development by the small-pox epidemic which ravaged those parts in 1800: this epidemic carried away 352 individuals and laid Qerrortussoq entirely waste, the few survivors moving to Holsteinsborg. By the efforts of the inspectors first

the settlement, then the district, in the course of the following years, was peopled by natives who moved there from the other districts. In 1802 the settlement had the good luck to catch 18 whales, which gave 1700 barrels of blubber. At the same time the production of down yielded about 2000 lbs. whereas sealing and shark-fishing made little progress.

Sukkertoppen had a considerable trade consisting of seal-blubber and skins, the production of seal-oil in 1795 amounting to 372 casks.

In 1802 Godthaab is described as the poorest place in the southern inspectorate. There was no lack of convenient fishing grounds, but no one cared to live there, and this—as had frequently been made the subject of complaints—was due to the crowding of the Greenlanders round the Moravian Mission in the neighbourhood. The Danish congregation only numbered few native breadwinners. The net fishing had been carried on by the Danish permanent crews, but the profit did not justify the efforts. In 1795 the settlement had yielded 372 casks of blubber. At the outpost Kangeq the fishing of halibut was carried on. At Fiskernæsset, which in 1795 yielded 194 casks of blubber, net fishing was of some importance and kept alive the local trade. At Frederikshaab where there were many good fishing grounds; the chief animal of capture was the hump-backed whale, but also shark fishing at times yielded a good profit. The products were frequently not fetched, owing to the difficult coast navigation past the dangerous Tornarsuk, and in order to remedy this drawback an outpost was founded in 1805 near the populous station at Arsuk. Its manager was a Dane, and the production increased from 44 casks of blubber in 1787 to 314 casks in 1800. Net fishing was not practised.

Julianehaab, the most recent and southerly of the settlements in the “Canaan of Greenland”, with a numerous and industrious population—in 1802 it was given as about 2000 individuals, in 1805 as 650 baptized and 700 unbaptized individuals—had proved a valuable asset for the company, 800 casks of blubber having been shipped from there in the year 1800. Net hunting had not yet been attempted. Also here complaints were set forth that the Moravian Mission caused more than 400 Greenlanders to move to their station at Lichtenau. In 1797 the Nanortalik station was founded, and the oldest trader’s house at Julianehaab was moved there as a dwelling for the manager. Here successful collections were made of native produce from the Tasermiut Fiord, and the trade intercourse with the natives was extended to the heathen east of Cape Farewell, a most important advance for the work of colonization in those parts. However, the company suffered great losses on account of the difficult navigation of the Julianehaab district; thus a vessel had to winter there in 1798—99, and this again happened in 1801—02. In the following years the vessel was frozen in at Norway; and finally, in 1803, it was wrecked with full provisions for two years. After this catastrophe a galiass was sent up there to take the produce

to Frederikshaab to which access was easier, and from there provisions were brought back to Julianehaab. Net fishing was there carried on at the expense of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, but was made difficult by the unsettled ice conditions. The most important trade was then, as now, the rich catch of bladdernose seal, when the animals in the spring and summer migrate along the coast in large shoals.

During the years of the war (1807—14) the Greenland trade, which had been developed with such great efforts, received a blow from which it did not recover for many years to come, and which, particularly for the resident Danes, brought great difficulties, want and starvation. Five of the vessels returning in 1807 were seized by the English; only the veteran of Greenland vessels, the brig "Hvalfisker", which was built in Kalmar in 1801 and throughout a century went to and fro between Greenland and Denmark, arrived safely in the Sound, hotly pursued by English cruisers.

The news of the bombardment of Copenhagen and the capture of the fleet, reached Godthaab in April 1808, and was further confirmed, in the course of the summer, by "Norges Haab," a Danish vessel chartered at Farsund, which had first called at Sukkertoppen, laden with provisions; and although these, when distributed over all the colonies, were by no means sufficient, they nevertheless relieved the worst distress. The English privateers, who penetrated as far as Disko Bay behaved very well and even regretted the war. An English bark, the "Neptunus," commanded by a lieutenant of the Royal Navy, and sent out by the British Government in order to take provisions to the Greenlanders and at the same time take back the native produce, arrived in Godhavn on August 28th. Another English vessel was entirely wrecked on its way to Cape Farewell. Part of the "Neptunus" cargo was stored, and then the vessel proceeded to Ritenbenk and Egedesminde, after the inspector had provided the English captain with testimonials of good faith, in order to protect him against Danish privateers in European waters. By means of these provisions the Danes at the said settlements were able to await the coming winter with a feeling of security, and were freed from the necessity of having recourse to the provisions sent up with the "Norges Haab" which might now be used for the benefit of South Greenland. In October a vessel hailing from Flensborg arrived in Godthaab from Archangel with provisions, which were sent to the settlements in the bay in smaller vessels, whereas the vessel itself wintered at Godhavn; only Ūmánaq and Upernivik got nothing, because it was not considered advisable to go so far north. Through letters from Ūmánaq which had been brought there by sledge, it was learned that Upernivik was able to hold out until the spring of 1809, and so it was resolved to send the vessel up there, as soon as the sea became navigable. Already in June the "Diana" set sail for Ūmánaq, and three days afterwards an English man-of-war brig arrived in Godhavn, in pursuit of the vessel, but when the Englishmen learned

that it was life or death for the Danes at Upernivik, they left the vessel in peace. However, the captain declared that he would seize it on its way back, but the "Diana" happily escaped the pursuit of the English man-of-war, and was ordered to Jacobshavn, where the privateers would have greater difficulty in finding it.

The Danes in Disko Bay, by order of the directors, tried to eke out their meagre store by edible seaweed, but they could not be induced to eat this food. Owing to want of fuel, many of them moved into native hunting lodges, which they heated by means of blubber lamps, and even the inspector used these.

On May 28th 1809 the "Jupiter" from Flakkerø reached Fiskernæsset, but no vessel arrived in North Greenland, and so the active and able inspector, Motzfeldt, went south with two yachts to Holsteinsborg, Sukkertoppen and Godthaab in order to obtain provisions for the northern colonies, and also some fuel consisting of dwarf willow and dwarf birch. The provisions, unfortunately, proved unsound and unfit for food. Owing to the want of ammunition all lead was torn off the houses, windows and the ringbolts in the harbours, and even off the spire of Jacobshavn church in order to make bullets.

On November 6th, 1810, the brig "Freden" reached Egedesminde after an extremely difficult passage but with only scant provisions. The need became more pressing; the trips to the coal mine at Skansen were given up, the whaling was limited, and only two whales were caught, one at Godhavn and one at Kronprinsens Eilander. The situation became still worse, when the sailors at Godhavn broke into mutiny and went over to the English whalers. After having spent the winter at Godhavn the "Freden," owing to a leak, was obliged to give up the intended provisioning, and in July 1811 it started for home.

While Holsteinsborg received provisions from the "Jupiter" which arrived there on June 13th, an English frigate which in the same year anchored at Godhavn, helped the Disko settlement over their greatest wants. A yacht was sent up to Upernivik; it sprang a leak at Svartenhuk, but the captain nevertheless succeeded in the dangerous undertaking of carrying the assistant and three sailors from whaling vessels to Godhavn, while the foreman remained behind in charge of the buildings. As the three vessels sent out from England and Denmark only reached South Greenland, conditions grew more desperate in Disko Bay. There was not a single grain of powder nor an ounce of butter; no bread and no woollen or linen stuffs. The mineralogist Giesecke who was at that time staying near Godhavn, only possessed one shirt, and the skin clothing chafed his skin. An attempt was even made to breed dogs so as to be able to eat them in the autumn.

The Copenhagen newspaper "Dagen" sharply criticized the irresolution of the directors, and the unpractical arrangement of the provisioning of

Greenland. They had left everything relating to provisions to a merchant Brodersen, who in 1810—11, sent the "Freden" and some other vessels to Greenland, but in his ignorance of conditions he failed to utilize the capacity of the vessel to the full, and so the casks with biscuits were only half-filled. The directors maintained, in opposition to actual conditions, that the settlements were abundantly supplied, also by the English, who however only gave them very sparingly of their provisions, and moreover charged exorbitant prices, even for medicines.

In 1813 the yacht stationed at Godhavn went up to Upernivik to fetch the foreman who had remained behind, and who for about two years had lived in the Eskimo fashion. At the beginning of August the "Hvalfisker" arrived in Godhavn with the most needful provisions and powder. Everywhere there was great want, which, however, was somewhat remedied by a successful net hunting.

In the following year the "Freden" arrived, but again only with scant provisions. Then news came from the Danes at Upernivik that illness had broken out among them, and that the Greenlanders had burnt the buildings there as well as at the outposts.

The winter came with bitter want and starvation, and it was not until the summer of 1815 that the "Hvalfisker" brought the tidings, so much longed for, that peace had been concluded, and from then onwards the regular navigation of the settlements was again resumed. Inspector Motzfeld went back with the vessel; though delicate in health, he had, with indefatigable zeal and endurance, helped the Danes in North Greenland in their bitterest need.

During the years of the war the Royal Greenland Trading Company had, without the slightest advantage, been obliged to keep its large staff of traders and assistant traders, and also at great expense, partly by means of foreign vessels, to try to provide the country with absolute necessities. It did not prove possible until 1817 to ship the produce which had been collected there, but after the vessel had left Greenland, it went down with every one on board, and in the same year another vessel was lost with a return cargo.

It was a great misfortune for Greenland that the men to whom the administration of the trading company had been entrusted during these difficult years lacked both will and power to devote their time to develop the country, and to do away with the mistakes and abuses which had crept in everywhere in the various departments of the company; moreover, the most enterprising of them H. L. Wexelsen, a Norwegian by birth, was during the years of the war 1807—14 fully occupied with his great work for the provisioning of Norway. Illicit trading was carried on to the greatest possible extent by the local traders, in conjunction with the crews of vessels and the employées of the company at Copenhagen. Everyone on board, from the

captain to the cabin boy, profited whenever there was a chance; even the workmen at the train-oil factory with their low wages were able to retire as house-owners and capitalists in a small way. An energetic attempt to sweep away this widespread corruption was made by P. A. Eskildsen, an able and enterprising man, who in 1822 was appointed by the King director of the company with a "special obligation to supervise everything relating to the buying of vessels, their provisioning, repairs and freighting." He died in 1825 and was succeeded by J. H. Gedde, one of the ablest and most authoritative men in the administration of Greenland, who uncompromisingly did away with old blundering customs and taking the law into one's own hands. Luck favoured the sensible plan for the navigation of Greenland, which he introduced, in so far as not a single vessel was wrecked during his term of office. In the system followed regarding the trade, Gedde kept strictly within the limits of the monopoly trade, as once defined, and while making due allowance for the needs of the Greenlanders, he nevertheless succeeded in making the accounts of the company balance.

The Government grants were soon discontinued, and during the five years 1835—39 there was a surplus of 335,448 rigsdaler. For eighteen years Gedde remained in office, discharging his duties in the most exemplary manner, and when he retired in 1848 he had the satisfaction of having paid to the Treasury very nearly a million rigsdaler as the profits of Greenland. Gedde was also an active member of the commission, appointed in 1827 for the exploration of the east coast of Greenland, which commission sent out Lieut. V. A. Graah, of the Danish Royal Navy, on his well-known voyage of discovery, a carefully prepared and successful expedition. In 1831 Graah entered the services of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, beyond doubt on the initiative of Gedde, but unfortunately both of these men who each in his own way did so much for Greenland were equally uncompromising, and they did not get on together. The divergency between their views of the administration of Greenland, so fundamentally opposed, gave rise to the appointment, in 1835, of the commission for the abolishment of the trade monopoly, and they were both made members of this committee.

From about 1825 conditions began to improve in Greenland. The sad decline which was the result of the years of the war and other circumstances has been described by Inspector C. P. Holbøll in a retrospect, written in 1856, of the development throughout the thirty years, during which he had been associated with the country. As a young naval officer, twenty-six years of age, he had already in 1822, with Government support, undertaken a two-years' voyage to Greenland, in order to become acquainted with the whaling trade, and also to make collections for the Royal Natural History Museum. In 1825 he was appointed inspector of whaling and the northern settlements; in 1828 he was made inspector of South Greenland, and in this position he remained until his death in 1856, when after having con-

cluded his work as a member of the Greenland Commission he went up with the "Baldur" which was lost on the voyage to Greenland.

When this intelligent man, who throughout was warmly interested in everything relating to Greenland, first became acquainted with the country, the buildings of the Royal Greenland Trading Company were in a very poor state. Neither the houses of the company's employées and crews nor those of the Greenlanders were above the most primitive stage; wooden floors and panels were practically unknown, and gutskin was used instead of glass windows. There was hardly one in a hundred among the natives who was provided with linen. The native products were poor and sparse at all the settlements. The net fishing yielded no profit, and there was neither shark nor cod fishing. The whale fishery, only carried on at Holsteinsborg, had for many years been bad; in 1825 and 1828 the amount of whales caught was eighteen, but in 1827 none and so also in succeeding years.

After Graah had retired, in 1850, it became a custom that one of the directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company should be a man who knew the country. From 1825 which, as already mentioned, marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Greenland, the country had been amply supplied with commodities, which were not only cheaper, but also better than formerly, and there was an unmistakable improvement in the conditions of the Greenlanders.

After the financial crisis in 1813 the Royal Greenland Trading Company were unable to pay interest on the capital, and so they were obliged to apply for a Government grant and loans from elsewhere, thus in 1824—25 only, for as much as 60.000 rigsdaler. In 1825 the company was promised that all claims on the part of the Treasury would be waived if they paid back the last amount borrowed, and this took place in 1830. At the same time an amount owing to various departments of the Treasury was written off, the total, according to the new currency, being 500.000 rigsdaler.

In 1834 an attempt was made to open up the country to free trade, the two merchants von der Pahlen and P. J. Kall, a former trader of Holsteinsborg, being licensed to establish a permanent station on the coast at Isortoq; from there they were to carry on whaling and sealing, and shark and cod fishing along the distance Holsteinsborg—Sukkertoppen, for which purpose at least eighty Greenlanders should be employed. The reasons given for this licence was that the natural resources of Greenland were both richer and more profitable than those of Iceland, and that the Greenlanders ought to be prepared to come out of their "state of savagery and mental pupilage."

The obligations entailed by this licence were, among others, to equip one or two whaling vessels every year, to abstain from trading with the natives and not to undertake collection of down, but the two contractors, from the very first, acted contrary to the spirit, as well as the wording of their contract. Kall did not go to the uninhabited station at Isortoq, but

to the populous dwelling place of Napassok, where, in spite of all protests on the part of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, he built houses, engaged the services of all the Greenlanders living there and bought their produce, even their kayaks for use in his service. Apart from that, he neither carried on whale nor cod fishing, but only shark fishing in connection with net fishing which was not very profitable. On account of the higher wages, however, the Greenlanders crowded there during the fishing season, and then, with their natural disinclination to practise economy, they were bound to suffer want and starvation during the remainder of the year. The partners did not even fulfill the first obligation incumbent upon the station, *viz.* to pay royalties to the State and contribute to the work of the Mission, as did the Royal Greenland Trading Company when the trade was in their hands; and finally, in 1841, the whole enterprise was given up or rather taken over by the Government against a payment of 3000 rigsdaler, having entailed considerable losses for the Royal Greenland Trading Company and greatly impoverished the native population for many years to come.

However, if the whole enterprise had not been started on a false foundation, *viz.* on purely illicit trading, it would, according to Holböll, not only have brought considerable profit to the holders of the licence, but the country would have made greater progress than was otherwise possible.

In connection with the founding of this establishment, the Greenland Commission was appointed, by a Royal Order of April 1835. Its object was to report on the possibilities and conditions of a more or less extended free trade on Greenland, and after five years of careful deliberations, the majority of the commission arrived at the result that it must be strongly advised against breaking away from the trade system hitherto followed, although all were agreed that the monopoly, in spite of the advantages it brought, ought to be abolished as soon as the cultural stage of the inhabitants and local conditions permitted. However, until this happened, the surplus of the trade should not as hitherto go to the Treasury, but should be used for the further enlightenment of the Greenlanders and for the improvement of their economic conditions. A minority were of the opinion that it would be possible, without injuring the Greenlanders, to take a step in the direction of freer trading conditions by a transitional measure, *viz.* by leasing some of the settlements to private individuals with the exclusive privilege of trading with these.

The work of the commission resulted in various reforms for the economic and spiritual benefit of the Greenlanders. In 1836 the increase of the rate of payment for native produce entailed a rise of the price of blubber per cask from 2 to 3 rigsdaler, in 1844 further to 4 rigsdaler. The Greenlanders were provided with houses, wood (for building purposes) and stoves at cheap prices. They were taught to prepare their food by means of the fuel which made part of the resources of the country, and to use it not only in

winter, but also during their stays along the fiords in summer, thus saving considerable quantities of blubber which until then practically had been their only means of heating. From the thirties of the 19th century young Greenlanders were sent to Denmark to be trained partly as teachers and partly as artisans. On the recommendation of the commission, South Greenland was further provided with two physicians; moreover, arrangements were made for assistance to be given in case of illness by the officials in that part of the country, a practice which had already been introduced in North Greenland. The two seminaries which had been founded in 1845 (cf. "The Educational System of Greenland") did not, in the opinion of Holbøll, bring about the twofold effect intended by the commission, on the one hand to give the clergymen acting as teachers at the seminaries the opportunity of learning Greenlandic, and on the other to give young and intelligent Greenlanders sufficient knowledge of Danish and elementary subjects to enable them to profit by a stay in Denmark for purposes of training. Another experiment made, *viz.* to train women at the maternity hospital in Copenhagen, also met with difficulties, as the leaders of the hospital were unwilling to take on pupils who did not know Danish. All in all, however, there can be no doubt of the importance of the commission which helped to realize that all work for the material well-being of the Greenlanders must, at the same time, aim at their mental development.

In the years 1837—41 the Royal Greenland Trading Company made a series of experiments at cod fishing, and for this purpose it chartered a fishing vessel with an expert crew; in the following year it bought another vessel which was further to be used to carry coal from North Greenland. An Icelander was engaged to teach the Greenlanders the right manner of preparing the cod, but as the cod fisheries did not yield much profit, an attempt was made with shark fishing, also without any satisfactory results, and in 1845 the Inspector of South Greenland was put in charge of the cod fisheries at Holsteinsborg, which turned out to be profitable when carried on on the spot. The most important attempt at solving the problem of utilizing the abundance of fish was made, with the approval of the company, by the Iceland merchant Th. Thomsen, who had great experience in this line and who carried on fishing in the years 1847—51, especially in the Holsteinsborg District and at Sarfángaq. The result of the experience thus gained was, according to Rink, that shark and cod fishing by means of Danish and English vessels, both on the banks and within the belt of islands and skerries, was so much subject to chance that when carried on by Europeans it could only pay in certain years. However, in 1852, Rink expressed the opinion that the most recent and authentic knowledge of this trade was based on such a short number of years that it ought not, in the future, keep off Danish sailors from such an undertaking. As to the question whether there were any region in Greenland where it was advisable for European

colonists to settle in the fiords or nearer the outer coast with cattle breeding and fisheries (salmon fisheries) as their maintenance, Rink answers decidedly in the negative. Any experiment in this direction would require support on the part of the Government or assistance from the native Greenlanders. "The population itself," he concludes, "is the only really productive power in the country."

The "Retrospect" of Holbøll, already mentioned, gives a rather too bright, but nevertheless extremely interesting picture of conditions in South Greenland about the middle of the 19th century. According to him the houses of the Royal Greenland Trading Company at all the settlements and most of the outposts were in good condition, but the greatest and most noticeable changes within his time were those which had taken place in the dwellings of the Greenlanders. All the houses of the assistant traders throughout the country were now provided with floors and stoves, generally also with wooden panels; most of these houses had high roofs with attics, and all of them had ordinary windows. Also many of the houses of the sealers at the most northerly settlements in South Greenland were now provided with wooden floors and panels, some of them, further, with stoves and European windows which, among other things, led to the result that the inflammation of the eyes, formerly a very common affliction, now became rare. As to wearing apparel, there were very few natives who did not possess linen, and this had greatly furthered cleanliness and prevented the widely spread skin diseases. As examples of the increase of production it is mentioned that Godthaab which before 1828 was considered the poorest settlement and rarely yielded 300 barrels of blubber annually, now yielded about 800—1000 barrels and ranked as the third best settlement. The whale fishing at Holsteinsborg, which in 1828 only yielded 20 barrels now yielded 200—300 barrels. The fisheries were progressing favourably, providing the Greenlanders with what was absolutely necessary to relieve their wants. Holbøll was of the opinion that the cause of the increased production was the rise in the prices of blubber, the foundation of many new outposts—twenty-four against eight in 1828—a limitation of the loans given to the natives, a practice, which was now almost entirely abandoned, and finally the moving out of the people, who had been herded together in the dwelling places near the Moravian Brethren.

Also for North Greenland there was a distinct growth which it is possible to trace in details. In the Egedesminde District where whaling had been suspended and most of the experiments made with nets had been given up, everything was set going again within a comparatively short time. In 1818 the whaling on Vester Eiland had been resumed, and in the same year a trading establishment was founded at Agto by the name of Forsøget (i. e. the trial) where net fishing and trade was carried on by the local population. In 1825 the profitable outpost at Igíniarfik was established. In

1827 Hunde and Kronprinsens Islands were put under Egedesminde, and production increased, from about 1830, at a very rapid rate. In 1815 the whaling station of Godhavn had been re-established under a whaling captain, and during the first years it yielded a good profit. In 1839 a man was sent up as leader of the whale fisheries, and the station was maintained until 1851, when it was abandoned as there were no more whales caught.

In the Æmánaq District where the profitable net fishing had been more or less laid waste during the war, this fishery received a great impulse and has since then been the backbone of the colonization and trade of those parts. In 1825 the trading and whaling establishment of Nûgssuaq, which had been burnt down by the English, had again been made an outpost of Ritenbenk and was managed from there. Upernivik which, as had already been mentioned, was deserted by the Danes in 1814 was re-established in 1823 as an outpost of Godhavn, and in 1826 it was made an independent settlement with an appertaining district.

In 1829—31 the average annual export from the whole country was 5000 barrels of whale and seal-oil, 3526 sealskins, 8300 reinskins, 5000 foxskins, 12,000 lbs. of uncleaned eiderdown and 2700 pieces of baleen, the total value being 230,000 rigsdaler, and during the following years, 1832—34, the export was even greater. In the period 1829—42 the trade gave the rather considerable surplus of 106,147 rigsdaler, besides 4 per cent as interest on the capital, which in 1790 had been fixed at 200,000 rigsdaler, but was raised, in 1847, to 300,000 rigsdaler and from 1850 to 579,836 rigsdaler, the latter amount being still given in 1864. From 1850 the paying of interest on the capital of the Royal Greenland Trading Company was stopped, while at the same time all the assets of the pension and insurance funds of the company, to the amount of 208,396 rigsdaler, were called in by the Treasury.

A new commission was appointed by a Royal Resolution of March 2nd, 1851, with the object of considering the Greenland affairs. It was composed of experts and men acquainted with local conditions, and the choice must be said to have been extremely well-considered and fortunate. It consisted, among others, of the two directors, the chief auditor of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, the two inspectors in Greenland, Holboll and Olrik, Dr. Rink, a former missionary, an expert on sanitary conditions and several politicians.

As subjects for discussion the Ministry of the Interior had laid stress on a revision of the rate of payment and the instruction of 1782, the drawing up of regulations for the pay and pensioning of traders, the still burning question of a separation of trade and administration, and the access for private individuals to Greenland; further, the Greenland mission and schools, and sanitary conditions and possible changes in the chief administration at Copenhagen, the management of the Royal Greenland Trading Company and the relation of the latter to the Treasury.

Among the changes which the commission proposed may be mentioned the following: The rates of payment which had been fixed in 1846 were revised, the blubber bought from the natives being now no longer calculated by measurement but by weight, the price paid being $1\frac{2}{5}$ skilling per lb. (a barrel was calculated at 200 rigsdaler). Further the two inspectors' offices were fused and transferred to Copenhagen; the number of districts was limited by discontinuing several settlements and putting them under others; changes were made in the salaries and pensions of the traders, and improvements in the conditions of the assistant traders. As to the administration of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, all the members of the board were to have the same standing, with one managing director who was to hold a similar position to the heads of departments in the Ministry of the Interior, and report direct to the Minister; also a proposal was to be considered for fixing the capital of the Royal Greenland Trading Company at 650.000 rigsdaler from which payment should be made to the Treasury together with the surplus. It was not considered advisable to separate trade and administration; and, out of consideration for the Danes as well as the natives, the abolishment of the trade monopoly and the leasing of the trade establishment ought not to be proposed.

Only one member of the commission, bank director H. P. Hansen, was a decided opponent of the monopoly trade. He made an extremely radical proposal to the effect that it should be abolished already at the end of 1853, and for a period of ten years the trading establishments should be leased singly, by auction. The lessees should be permitted to use either Greenlanders, Danes or strangers for all trades in the country. Both natives and strangers should be free to carry on fishing off the coasts and in the bays of Greenland. The lessees should be able to prove that they would, every year, send the necessary commodities to the settlements. All regulations regarding rates were to be abolished. After their return the vessels of the Royal Greenland Trading Company should be sold at auctions and the premises of the company let. All officials and traders in the service of the company should be dismissed with halfpay or pension. The mission, schools and sanitation should remain under the Government.

In connection with the work of the commission Dr. Rink was entrusted with making a journey in South Greenland, like the one he had already undertaken in North Greenland, the object being to investigate all conditions which might have to be considered in the solution of the problem as to the introduction of partial or entire free trade with Greenland, and which places were best fitted for experiments in the one or the other direction. In the summer of 1852 Rink investigated the districts Godthaab, Fisker-næsset, Frederikshaab and particularly Julianehaab, so that he was now acquainted with the whole coast stretch, from the most northerly to the most southerly settlement, Sukkertoppen and Holsteinsborg only excepted.

The results of this journey he gives in the instructive and valuable writing "*Om Monopolhandelen paa Gronland*" (1852), the leading points of which will be given in the following.

The improvidence of the Greenlanders, their desire of untrammelled freedom, which, under the influence of Europeans, was apt to degenerate into perfect irresponsibility, their tendency to act upon the impulse of the moment and their weakness regarding sensual indulgence, especially alcoholic drinks, all this must naturally plunge the needy population into the deepest misery, when access was given to unchecked intercourse with foreign sailors, without supervision on the part of the Government. The power of production of the Greenlanders could only be set into motion when they were spread as much as possible, partly because they would otherwise be in each other's way, and partly because the crowding together in one place would prove detrimental in its consequences. Only a monopolized trade system could cause distribution by the establishment of trading stations in the most convenient places. Free competition as the incentive in all trading and industries was apt to have the opposite effect and would be tantamount to abolishing all control and authority in the country which would lead to the abandonment of Greenland as a Danish colony.

The fact that the old Norsemen for centuries had been able to sustain life in Greenland as an independent social organization, until they were weakened by their isolated existence, and the supply of necessities failed, was due to the cheap and enforced labour which they possessed in their "thralls" or bondmen. But apart from this, Rink was of the opinion that the sagas were guilty of exaggeration regarding the scope of colonization.

The zealous advocates of the State monopoly found their chief argument for its maintenance in conditions on the other side of Davis Strait where in the course of time the private monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company had led, not merely to sanguinary struggles with its competitor from the South, the Northwestern Company, but also to the extermination of the native population. When, as contrasted with this state of affairs, the Danish trade with Greenland is steadily progressing, this is due to the maintenance of the monopoly trade and to the fact that it is based upon the mission and the consequent humanitarian considerations, which have always been the guiding principle of the enterprises of the Danish Government in Greenland, but also to the support which the Government in times of adversity has given the country and, not least, the devotion with which a number of Norwegians and Danes, first and foremost the Egede family, have shown on behalf of the natives.

The task of the Government should be to further the cultural development of the population and their education to independence, which could only be done through the agency of a chief management or administrative

trading company, which was interested in this development, and if the teaching at the seminaries were undertaken in a different spirit to the one prevailing up to the present, that is away from book lore to actual enlightenment by instruction.

The reforms proposed by the commission of 1851 were, with few exceptions, not carried into effect. However, the interest for Greenland had been aroused, and not only among the public, but also in Parliament, voices were heard expressing discontent regarding the management of the Greenland trade. During the session of 1855—56 a commission appointed by Parliament, expressed their disapproval of the fact that no attention was paid to the Government's repeatedly expressed wishes for a cheaper, simpler and more efficient administration of the Greenland affairs and, further, that no step had been made towards abolishing or restricting the trade monopoly. These and other views were repeated in the report of the Financial Committee on the Budget of 1862—63, in which it was proposed, for economic reasons, to abolish the monopoly trade, as this, in later years, had brought very little profit, in some cases even losses. The commission also maintained that, even if, in the future, the Greenland trade were to yield a surplus, this ought to be sacrificed out of regard for the native population, as in case the trade were free the prices of products ought to be considerably higher and still give a suitable profit to the buyer. The commission could not deny the danger generally acknowledged of letting the Greenlanders get into touch with whoever came there, but they did not consider this reason sufficiently valid for keeping the Greenlanders in the state of mental pupillage in which they were kept owing to the trade monopoly, the injurious consequences of which appeared from the facts made known in 1858—59 regarding poverty and starvation among the population. In accordance with this view, the majority of the members of the commission considered themselves entitled to urge upon Parliament the advisability of preparing the way for free trade in the near future. In case the Government refused to consider this view, the majority of the commission would insist on thorough changes being made in the whole administration of Greenland which seemed to leave much to be desired, both regarding its economic management and its relation to the native population.

As the result of setting forth these views, and on the recommendation of the Ministry of the Interior a new commission was appointed by a Royal Resolution of February 21st, 1863, with the object of discussing the state of the Greenland trade. In the instructions for this commission the Ministry expressed its doubts as to the advisability of abolishing the monopoly trade, and out of respect for the native population, as well as for economic and political reasons, it enforced caution regarding this step, at the same time acknowledging that changes in the system hitherto followed were greatly needed. From an economic point of view this was justified by

the fact that the profit on the trade in the years 1850—53 only had amounted to about 93.000 rigsdaler, in the period 1854—57 to 63.000 rigsdaler, in the following few years even dwindling to 33.000 rigsdaler, and this amount included the royalty on the cryolite mine, which for that matter had nothing to do with the trade. Finally, it was bound to arouse misgivings that the population of Greenland, which in 1855 had risen to 9647 individuals, at the end of 1861 had fallen to 9533.

The Ministry hinted that it might be advisable, as a transition to a complete abolishment of the monopoly, to specify certain articles to be covered by the monopoly; the trading with these and the European commodities might then be left to private initiative, for the time being, however, only to the Greenland employées of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, assisted by the mixed population, an arrangement which was supposed to contribute to the development of a native class of traders. The losses which the trading company would suffer through this arrangement might, according to the Ministry, be compensated by giving up certain settlements which were run at a loss. When the employées of the trading company, besides the duties which they were bound to perform, were permitted to do business in the manner suggested, it would justify a reduction of their wages.

The commission could not see its way to accept the views of the Ministry and advised against the experiment, all the more as, in their opinion, it would be an expensive one, though they were not first and foremost concerned with the economic side of the matter and did not otherwise think that the State ought to refuse even such measures, as might entail loss of income, when it was for the benefit of the Greenlanders. Presuming that the Government reserved to itself the monopoly of the chief produce of Greenland, *viz.* blubber, and gave free access to trading with the other products, the reduction of the income on sealskins and other native produce would, according to an average estimation for the years 1858—61, amount to about 50.000 rigsdaler, and when only reserving the sealskins 37.500 rigsdaler. In order to make good this loss of income, the expenses to the traders throughout Greenland, which were estimated at 112.000 rigsdaler, would have to be very considerably reduced. The compensation through private agency business would, when leaving the sealskins out of consideration, be very unequal in the various parts of the country, and would entail a complicated system of salaries. As long as the Royal Greenland Trading Company reserved the blubber for themselves, very little would be saved by giving up trading posts, as all these, with one exception, were founded with a view to this produce. Furthermore the traders, when selling European commodities to the natives, would occupy a very untenable dual position, and the proposed arrangement would only give rise to a new monopoly without any prospect of effecting the intended improvement of the enterprise of the native population.

Apart from this, the commission acknowledged that free trade ought to be the aim towards which efforts were to be directed, and they quite realized that even from the end of the 18th century prospects had been held out for the abolition of the monopoly in the near future. There had been full agreement about the principle, but the carrying out had constantly been postponed, as the population was not considered sufficiently developed for the consequences of such a far-reaching step.

Through Inspector Orlík from North Greenland, the only one of the members of the Commission, who was familiar with conditions in Greenland, a proposal was put forth for the solution of the problem of the eventual abolition of the trade monopoly, the trend of which was as follows:

Within an experimental period covering five to ten years an attempt ought to be made to open up the trade on the part of the coast where population and production had declined, *viz.* from 61° to 67° lat. N., comprising the Frederikshaab settlement and the Fiskernæsset, Godthaab, Sukkertoppen and Holsteinsborg districts—the total deficit of which amounted to 5200 rigsdaler—though only for vessels which were entered outwards from, and inwards to Danish ports, against paying a certain duty on the products which were exported from Greenland, and on the condition that the Royal Greenland Trading Company might take steps to help in case the experiment failed. In order to cover all expenses in connection with administration and mission, the private trading company should pay a duty of 16 per cent on the European value of the native products. In order to safeguard the natives against detrimental consequences by the introduction of alcohol, the private traders must bind themselves not to introduce a larger quantity of spirits than was necessary for the supply of the vessels, and in that respect to observe the regulations applying to the Royal Greenland Trading Company. In order to prevent the transfer of infectious diseases to Greenland, the crews going up there should be bound to submit to a medical inspection. As it might be imagined that it would be difficult to find any single private individual willing to take the risk entailed by the trade on Greenland, the Royal Greenland Trade Company ought to direct its efforts towards forming a combination of merchants; when such a combination was formed, the company should join it as shareholders, by providing the vessels, buildings and fixtures required for the navigation of the country and other necessities which were of importance for the new company.

As to economies practised in the administration, the commission called attention to the fact that—as appeared from the balance account of 1861 — 150,000 of the total expense of 312,300 rigsdaler must be reckoned as direct trading costs, an amount which was quite disproportionate to the profit which the Greenlanders received for their products. Therefore, an increase of prices was proposed, both for the native commodities which were purchased and for the European commodities which were sold. The

price for a barrel of blubber was raised from 3 rigsdaler 34 skilling, to 6 rigsdaler, for blue foxskins, according to the three classes 2 rigsdaler 9 mark and 1 rigsdaler to 4 rigsdaler 15 mark and 9 mark respectively; the skins of saddlebacks from 30 skilling to 48 skilling, and the price of uncleaned down from 24 skilling per bundle to double that amount. The import of European commodities was for the present 3—4 times as great as the export of Greenlandic produce, *viz.* 184.000 rigsdaler in 1861 against 46—48.000 rigsdaler. The Royal Greenland Trading Company charged no profit for fire-arms and ropes; for provisions, groceries and goods in commission a profit was charged of 20 per cent, except for coffee, the profit of which was 32 per cent; for cottons and some wools, hardware and tobacco 30 per cent; for china and glass as well as various luxuries 46 per cent; for tin ware, all sorts of tools, tubs, knives, wooden articles and paper only 12 per cent. Regarding the salaries of traders and assistant traders the commission did not think it advisable to attempt a general reduction. After an average calculation for the years 1858—61 the incomes of the traders at the settlements—consisting of a comparatively low salary and board allowance, as well as a certain percentage on the sales price of the product—varied from 3527 rigsdaler (Julianehaab) to 1047 rigsdaler (Godhavn); for assistants, salaried in a similar manner, from 1250 rigsdaler (Ũmánaq) to 700 rigsdaler; for apprentices (as salary and board allowance) 250 rigsdaler.

The commission advised a simplification of the navigation of Greenland as carried on by the Royal Greenland Trading Company, a concentration of the manufacturing of oil, an increase of the whale fisheries, which might presumably be estimated at 10.000 rigsdaler; further, it proposed to purchase steamers, for the present only one, which should as a rule spend the winter in Greenland and be stationed at Godhavn, partly to exploit the native coal beds and partly for the purpose of the whale fishery, which after having been given up by the Royal Greenland Trading Company, was carried on by the natives from ships' boats, but was attended with risk and losses, because the whalers had not been able to pursue any advantages gained with their small boats.

The printed literature on Greenland was, far into the 19th century, chiefly limited to a few reports of commissions, Rink's topographic description and V. Vallø's useful compendium (Grønland, 1862). But there was no book instinct with a feeling for nature and humanity, nor any literary work written in a popular form, so as to arouse interest and sympathy in Denmark for this far-off colony and its inhabitants, hitherto only known to a few clergymen and officials, and the still fewer members of scientific expeditions. This want was remedied in 1864 by E. Bluhme's "Fra et Ophold i Grønland," an inspiring work, rich in thought and matter. It was the fruit of an expedition made by the author, a naval officer of thirty

years of age, who had undertaken measurements, with a view to navigation, on the western coast, and this led to his spending the winter 1863—64 there. He expressly says that his book is meant as a controversial writing in favour of the growth and development of the Greenland community.

Against a background of vivid and arresting descriptions of the daily life and occupations of the Greenlanders, Bluhme criticizes the employées of the administration, the Danish mission and the Moravian Brethren in their relation to the native population, and he strongly advocates a number of reforms in the government of the country. In his opinion, the highest authority should be entrusted to a governor who was independent of the changing Ministers of the Interior, and whose aim should first and foremost be to attend to the welfare of the Greenlanders. He should be resident in Copenhagen, at the same time being under obligation to make frequent journeys to Greenland, and in financial matters he was to be assisted by an auditor, an accountant and a treasurer who should also act as a secretary. As the monopoly had not been for the benefit neither of civilization nor the mission, trading should be left to a merchant in Copenhagen, who was to be appointed by the governor, at first with a fixed salary, later on with percentages sufficiently high to pay the salaries of all employées in Copenhagen and Greenland, and the upkeep of the trading establishments. Churches and schools should be in the charge of the clergy, who, with the exception of an archdeacon in South Greenland, another in North Greenland, and the two heads of seminaries, should all be natives. In each of the two provinces there should, as hitherto, be an inspector as supreme judge and superintendent, and also a physician and a hospital where young Greenlanders might be trained as nurses. The teaching at the seminaries should not be limited to religion, but should also comprise knowledge of commerce and law. The object should first and foremost be to give back Greenland to the Greenlanders.

Bluhme's book gave rise to discussions on various problems, and became a great support to Rink who until then had been alone in his views. The thoughts which Bluhme put forth in his frank and open sailor-like fashion, germinated and came to fruition, and he himself, until the last the staunch friend of the Greenlanders, was granted the privilege of seeing most of his ideas realized before his death in 1926, when ninety-three years of age.

Before concluding this brief summary of the history, hitherto unwritten, of the Greenland trade from the oldest times till about 1870, when Rink was appointed director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, we will just glance at the results obtained from his activity before that period, both for the benefit of the native population and for sounder commercial principles.

The life of Rink will be told in the following, and so in this connection

it will be sufficient to call attention to his journeys to Greenland in the years 1848—52. The scientific results of these expeditions are also mentioned elsewhere, but apart from his purely scientific work he charted long stretches and marked off all trading posts, outposts and experimental stations, as well as the former and present dwelling places of the Greenlanders, with a view to their natural resources, and the living conditions of the natives in each of these places. This highly necessary work became of the greatest assistance to the administration of Greenland. With his steadily increasing and never failing sympathy with the Greenlanders, Rink saw to his grief that they were noticeably declining, both in prosperity and enterprise, a view which was strongly confirmed when, in the years 1853 and 1857, many natives perished from hunger and sickness. In his opinion, the chief cause of the material evils was the want of laws specially adapted to the needs of the Greenlanders, the existing legislation being rather calculated to support the authority of the Europeans, and this had contributed to shatter the old native patriarchal organization and the respect for old observances, which were to be considered as a sort of unwritten law. The principal object of Rink was to make Greenland a self-supporting colony, and in 1856—57 he put forth a proposal for the introduction of native boards of guardians. These boards were to consist of the most capable and sensible individuals, each representing a smaller district, while they should form a sort of connecting link between the native and the Danish officials and employees. An experiment was made in South Greenland, and this in 1862—63 led to the establishment of boards of guardians in both provinces, with separate funds, the use of which was put off, until the necessary experience was gained. This institution is the corner stone in the building up of the modern social organization of Greenland. In all fields, Rink tried to counteract and do away with old abuses, and especially to combat the borrowing system which made the natives dependent upon the traders. For several years he devoted all the time he could spare from his official duties to studying the Greenlandic language. He collected and wrote down a number of popular legends and prepared a description of the old religious ideas of the Greenlanders.

All in all, Rink spent sixteen winters and twenty-one summers in Greenland, from 1853 as manager of the Julianehaab settlement with the authority of an inspector, and from 1858 as royal inspector. His health was much impaired by the many journeys undertaken in open boats, through uninhabited regions, and in 1868 he was obliged to resign his office, at the same time asking that he might become associated with the "Greenland institution". His love of the Greenlanders was so great and his modesty so rare that he declared himself content to act as an adviser under the Greenland department, indeed, as he expresses himself, with "any kind of work that

might be entrusted to me," so as to be able to devote all his time and strength to the welfare of the Greenlanders.

After Hans Egede there is no one to whom the Greenlanders owe a greater debt of gratitude than to Dr. Rink.

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THE TRADE FROM 1870 TO THE PRESENT TIME

A HISTORICAL REVIEW

BY

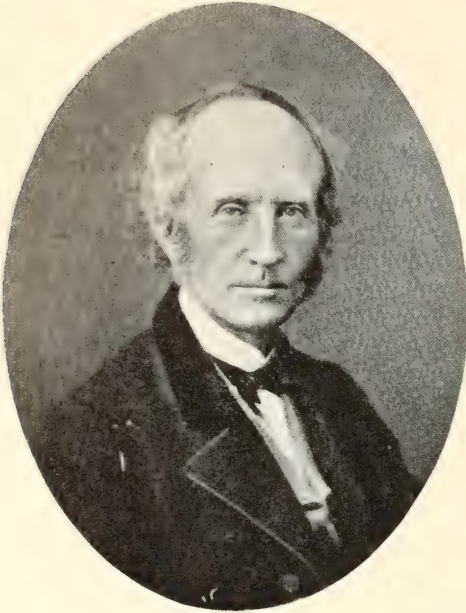
REV. H. OSTERMANN

The wish expressed by Dr. Rink in his letter of resignation was not fulfilled, at any rate not at first. As appears from other statements contained in the same letter, he seems to have thought that he might act as adviser to the Government on Greenland affairs. But no such position was offered to him, and he was only consulted once or twice on any question dealing with Greenland. Then, when, in 1871, the position as director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company was offered to him, he accepted, hoping that he might thus accomplish something of decisive importance on behalf of the Greenland people.

The directorship of Rink marks a new era in the history of Greenland. This must not be taken to mean that he succeeded in carrying out all the ideas and plans which he, more than any other, entertained for the development of the country, the enlightenment of the people, and the advance of their material and spiritual culture, as well as for the stabilization of their economic life. The obstacles in his way were too many, and the lack of understanding on all hands too great, while, owing to his constant weak health, he was apt to be somewhat uncompromising and unbending in his dealings with others, yet at the same time frequently lacking in firmness and clearness of aim. But he led the way to reforms and raised up problems which it has never since been possible to set aside, both as regards the trade and administration of the country, but, first and foremost, its people and their future and development.

The instructions issued on April 19th, 1782, for the officials of the trading company "the which the traders and the managers of trading posts or whaling stations in Greenland and all officials in the future are bound to comply with and obey" had long been antiquated; in the course of time they had partly been modified and partly extended by a number of regulations and rules, which were more or less difficult to adjust.

One of the first steps which Rink took after he had been appointed director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company was to collect and arrange all the regulations in force for the employées, both at the settlements in Greenland and at the offices in Copenhagen, and these regulations were redrafted for the purpose of becoming more accessible and easy to understand. These collected regulations were published on January 2nd, 1873, as new instructions, and were further supplemented in 1875 and 1879.



H. J. Rink.

As already mentioned, the new instructions chiefly apply to the employées of the trading company, but they also contain regulations of a more general kind, that is, applying to all Danes in Greenland. According to these instructions, Danish laws were to be in force to the same extent as hitherto, that is, for Danes and natives in the service of the trading company, in the church and the school, and in all doubtful cases the inspectors were to be regarded as the authority of the country. The instructions of 1873 confirm the power of punish-

ment possessed by the inspectors, as stipulated in the instructions of 1782, without however fixing definite limits, and so in practice this right continued to operate on the old lines.

Further, Rink introduced the practice that all Danes who were to be appointed by the Royal Greenland Trading Company in Greenland should receive preparatory instruction at the offices of the company in Copenhagen. This, it is true, had not been entirely unknown before that time, but now it became a rule which could only be departed from in quite exceptional cases.

But the greatest work for the future of the trade devolved on Rink towards the end of his directorship, when a sudden and serious crisis set in owing to the great fall in the price of the chief native product, seal oil, and this threatened the very basis of the Greenland trade.

As mentioned in the preceding article, the Royal Greenland Trading Company had, since 1829, yielded a regular surplus. In the period 1829—49 this surplus amounted to 812.214 kroner in all, or an average of 40.617 kroner a year. This sum was arrived at after deducting not merely

all public expences relating to Greenland, but also interest on the capital, which in 1829 had been fixed at 250.000 rigsdaler (later on raised to 396.000 rigsdaler), and payments to the special insurance and pension funds. In 1850 the capital reserved for these special funds was given over to the State, and at the same time the interest on the capital as well as the payments to these funds were discontinued. Consequently, the surplus during the following years became still greater, in the period 1850—78 amounting to 3.486.961 kroner, or a yearly average of 120.962 kroner.

In the general balance account of the Greenland trade at March 31st 1880, the State, consequently, became the debtor of the company for the surplus paid since 1829, the total of this debt amounting to 6.240.524 kroner, although the last two years showed a very considerable deficit. This sum, however, was based on the assumption that the old debts of Greenland to the Treasury — i. e. the deficits from the time before 1829 — had been written off. But even supposing these debts were to be refunded as well as interest on the capital from 1850, the amount to the credit of the Royal Greenland Trading Company would still have been about 2.000.000 kroner, besides the sums paid in for the above-mentioned funds to the nominal amount of 456.052 kroner. To this may further be added the royalties of the cryolite mine at Ivigtût, which were always kept apart from the yearly and the general balance, as being irrelevant to the actual Greenland trade. The cryolite royalties were paid for the first time in 1856 and varied greatly in the various years — i. e. from 1035 to 116.410 kroner — the total in 1880 amounting to 1.686.768 kroner.

However, as already suggested, the yearly balance of the Greenland trade for the year 1879 showed a deficit of 157.693 kroner and for the year 1880 even as much as 169.668 kroner.

This was principally due to the one and the same cause. As early as in 1868, in his report regarding a higher grant to the mission, the accountant of the Royal Greenland Trading Company had called attention to the possibility that the prices of seal oil in the open market might decline, and that an even comparatively small decline in connection with other unfavorable conditions might easily cause a considerable deficit in the yearly balance of the company.

The case which he had foreseen did not occur until ten years later. Then expenses had risen so considerably — chiefly owing to the steadily increasing consumption of the Greenlanders and the accruing expenses for the navigation and provisioning of the settlements — that it became difficult to make income keep pace with expenditure, in spite of the fact that the production of seal oil was increasing largely and steadily, while on the other hand the production of skins was decreasing, as appears from the following table of the average export of oil and skins to Denmark:

in the years	seal oil	sealskins
1828—37	5070 barrels	39060 skins
1838—47	7194 —	41060 —
1848—57	8055 —	41009 —
1858—67	9115 —	36616 —
1868—77	10089 —	29114 —

As long as the prices of seal oil retained a fairly high level, things were not so bad. But seal oil was being gradually supplanted as an illuminant, and the use of it became more and more restricted, so that the prices were bound to fall. As late as the beginning of the seventies of the 19th century, the Greenland oils, owing to their excellent quality, more or less retained their original price, whereas the Icelandic and other species of oils declined in price. But after 1875 it was only possible to keep up the price of seal oil by refusing to sell it under a certain minimum price, and this could naturally only be done for a short time.

In the years 1860—77 the average price of seal oil had been 64 kroner per barrel, inclusive of barrel. The seal oil was sold at auctions, half in the autumn after the return of the vessels, half in the following spring. At the spring auction in 1878 the supply was 6865, of which, owing to the state of the market, only 5000 barrels were offered for sale. However, it was still thought advisable to fix 60 kroner a barrel as the price under which the company refused to sell, but the consequence was that only 3844 barrels were disposed of. Thus there still remained an unusually large stock of 3000 barrels, when the vessels brought back approximately 12,000 barrels. At the same time the state of the market became still worse, the demand for seal oil from abroad being small, and in order not to make prices decline still further, only 5000 barrels were offered for sale in the autumn, the minimum price fixed being 58 kroner per barrel. The result was that only a little more than 4000 barrels were sold, and so, in the spring of 1879, the trading company had a stock of 10—11,000 barrels on hand, the price of which at the spring auction should be fixed at not under 50 kroner. Only about 8000 barrels were sold, and in the autumn of the same year 5500 barrels were offered for sale at the same price, only about 4000 barrels being disposed of. Conditions grew still worse in the spring of 1880, so that it was impossible to maintain the minimum price formerly fixed, the actual price going down to hardly 45 kroner per barrel, inclusive of barrel. With a few exceptions such a low price had not been known for half a century, and even though it would possibly again rise a little, the prospects for making the accounts balance were very slight.

It is true that it had been promised by an order in council of November 19th, 1825, that the surplus paid to the Government for the trade

on Greenland should be invested on account of Greenland, so that it might be repaid, should the trading company, owing to unfavorable circumstances, come to be in need of assistance. But the unfortunate years just mentioned made the Government feel doubtful regarding the future of Greenland, and on June 7th, 1880, it entrusted to the director of the company, together with the Commission for Greenland Affairs (more of this later on) to send in a report comprising the following questions:

1) What had in recent years been the economic status of the Royal Greenland Trading Company and the other Greenland institutions, and what were the prospects for the future?

2) Whether, in case the present unfavorable prices of Greenland produce did not again improve, there would be any reason to recommend certain measures, in order to ensure a fitting relation between income and expenditure, and what would be the nature of these measures?

3) What measures might possibly be adopted, in case the prices of Greenland products should also in the future prove to be disproportionately unfavorable?

The report of the commission, first of all, discusses the favorable general balance of the Royal Greenland Trading Company. This discussion forms the basis of a statement to the effect that the commission—on the assumption that the surplus paid in to the Government might be used in such cases where grants proved necessary for the maintenance of the activity of the company — would not, at any rate in the nearest future, resort to such measures as increased rates and the introduction of economies in order to guard the company against deficits, as such measures would clash with the considerations which, as a matter of equity, had hitherto been shown the population of Greenland.

Furthermore, attention was called to the fact that the present decline in the price of oil on the open market was bound to have occurred sooner or later, and that even if conditions were to improve for a time, it was necessary to consider the measures which were to be taken in order to make income and expenditure balance.

In this connection it was emphasized that the chief cause of the unfortunate conditions was to be looked for in the fact that the expenses and more particularly the cost prices of the native products had been permitted to remain fixed and even advanced, while the income must always be variable. Another reason was that the population had become accustomed to depend far too much upon the support which they were to receive from the Danish settlements, partly as regards the supply of commodities, and partly in the administration of their social affairs.

Regarding the former point the steps hitherto taken had been very cautious, expenses having been kept down by limiting the sale to the Greenlanders to strictly necessary commodities. Thus, no articles of food

or drink of any kind had been sold to the natives during the early period of the trade with Greenland, and it was not until later that this restriction was partially removed, in so far as it was permitted to give provisions in exchange for part of the product offered for sale. In this manner, however, the trade in provisions rapidly increased to such an extent that, already in 1829, it might be said that the population now, unfortunately, almost considered bread as a necessity. In 1837 the trade in provisions was further extended, and in 1844 the last restrictions were removed. This, in its turn, led to the result that the quantity of commodities imported to Greenland must be constantly increased. As a case in point the commission mentions bread, "there being no commodity, which in a greater degree has contributed to the indirect increase of the expenditure of the trading company than baked bread. The import of bread has, since 1860, increased from 328,000 to 550,000 lbs, the latter quantity taking up four of the largest vessels of the trading company." And as the quantity of native produce sold was considerably increased by the release of the trade in provisions, this was misunderstood and taken to be caused by a greater catch. Consequently, greater liberality had been shown as regards expenses, for instance, by the establishment of a number of branch trading stations everywhere along the coast. But the great increase in the quantity of native products was, as a matter of fact, chiefly caused by the population selling a greater part of their products than they could very well spare, without running the risk of suffering want.

Regarding the second point it was evident that when a population, which from the first had been accustomed to do without imported supplies and to provide by their own trade all the necessities of life, obtained easy and unlimited access to commodities of almost any kind, they would soon become dependent upon the settlements, and it would take time and cause much poverty, before it became possible to change their economic habits according to the new system.

The commission, therefore, considered it extremely necessary *that* the strongest possible steps should be taken to support and revive the national occupations of the Greenlanders and the customs and regulations which are necessary for the maintenance of their social organization, and *that* the expenses for the trade and other public institutions in Greenland were to be limited as much as possible.

Regarding the first of these objects the commission stated that "taking the drawbacks of the present state of the Greenlanders into consideration, their future might at first sight seem rather hopeless." Attention was called to the decline of their occupations, their poor buildings, defective clothing and unsatisfactory state of health, but at the same time there were "signs pointing in the opposite direction". It was emphasized that "the impulse to engage in national occupations is so great that only very

little persuasion is needed, on the part of parents, to induce a boy to train as a sealer", and it is also frequently seen that "persons who have grown up near the European establishments, and thus have become dulled and neglected in the use of the kayak, with a change of surroundings, have soon become able breadwinners". Finally, recent experience shows that the Greenlanders are not devoid of "common sense and insight into what is immediately required in order to restore the healthy growth of their community". Therefore, the commission by no means considered it advisable to rest content with "the attempts made to develop the population and counteract the harmful influences which, in other countries with colonies, have ruined the native population".

Regarding the second object the commission stated as their opinion *that* a limitation of the number of branch trading posts would be advisable, *that* a few of the settlements might perhaps be reduced to outposts, *that* the wage system of the officials of the trading company should perhaps be modified so that their salaries, as far as possible, became fixed, and the payment by percentage limited, and also *that* natives were gradually to be employed as subordinate functionaries, *viz.* as artisans, skippers and, first and foremost, managers of outposts. It was advised that native managers of outposts should, by preference, be paid by percentages, seeing that they did not, like the Danish employées, leave Greenland after a certain term of office, and take their savings with them, but continued to make part of the native population and in all essentials share their life, "and if any trading spirit can be roused in them by this means, it will not be amiss." In this connection the mission was urgently recommended to continue the training of natives as clergymen, though it should be done in such a manner that they did not, through this training, learn to demand more from life than was reconcilable with the conditions under which their family must necessarily live, and with the bringing up of their children as good Greenlanders. The commission did not seem to realize that this would not be possible in the long run.

Finally, regarding the prices fixed according to the general rate of payment or price list, the commission did not think that any attempt should be made to reduce the price for native produce. On the other hand, it was thought that an attempt should be made to sell the commodities imported for sale in Greenland at a somewhat higher profit, particularly the so-called articles of luxury, so as to ensure repayment of part of the real expenses incurred by sending these commodities. Upon the whole, according to the statement of the commission, the rules by which the yearly general price list, used at the trading establishments in Greenland, was calculated, were so antiquated that a thorough revision was needed at the earliest possible date.

Regarding the last of the questions referred to, the commission held

the view that if the prices, after a certain number of years, should prove to remain at such a low level, a constant deficit would be the result — which possibility, however, it was still hoped to avoid — and then it would, in all probability, be possible to introduce further restrictions and economies and a better balance between income and expenditure. For one thing, the Greenlanders had, in a very marked degree, retained the power to do without the imported commodities when necessity demanded, however much they otherwise appreciated them. And, further, it would be possible gradually to educate the Greenlanders to take over the positions hitherto held by Danes in the service of trade and administration.

The report of the commission was accompanied by detailed information on the value of seal oil in the open market, calculations of the general balance of the Royal Greenland Trading Company from 1829 to 1880, extracts of accounts, regulations and various facts regarding the native population as well as references to the reports of former commissions.

In connection with this report the Government asked the commission for further information regarding certain points mentioned therein, *inter alia* a revision of the rules for the fixing of the rates of the commodities sent up to Greenland as well as for a possible reduction of the expenses accruing from navigation. The commission stated their views regarding these questions in the long and detailed "Appendix" to the report of the commission appointed in 1880, setting forth the principles of a new calculation of rates, according to which it should be possible to considerably increase the proceeds of the trade.

But, before any of the reforms and experiments proposed in the report and its appendix could be effected, Rink's directorship came to a sudden end, and his successor who, as a member of the commission, had constantly worked against him and opposed his proposals and suggestions was naturally not now eager to further them. Consequently, only very little of what had been intended was actually carried into effect.

In the preceding articles the introduction by Dr. Rink of the so-called boards of guardians has been mentioned, the object of this institution being to counteract the steady decline of the economic and social life of the Greenlanders, and their constantly increasing dependence on the Danish establishments. The beginning was made, in 1857, as a preliminary experiment in South Greenland where Rink as inspector might himself establish it on the right basis, and then, after the experiences and results obtained there, boards of guardians were introduced as permanent institutions in South Greenland in 1862 and in North Greenland the year after. At the same time a number of rules were drawn up for these boards which were sanctioned by the Government, and separate funds were instituted for their use both in South and in North Greenland.

As the institutions had been introduced at different times in the two provinces, the rules must naturally also be somewhat different; moreover, as the institution was quite new, and only in the course of years would stand its test and show its effect in practice, these rules would naturally be of a purely provisional character, so that the decision in by far the greater number of individual cases would have to be left to the Europeans who should carry them out in Greenland. It naturally followed that the results differed in the different districts. Thus it proved from the outset that it was far more difficult to adapt the institution to fairly fixed rules in North than in South Greenland; in the same manner it was there met with greater distrust and opposition both on the part of the Europeans and of the natives. It also proved that whereas the qualifications of the natives and local conditions generally did not put obstacles in the way of the new institution, the uncertainty regarding the rules, on the other hand, gave rise to misunderstandings, which at times actually counteracted the objects of the institution.

Consequently, as soon as Rink had been appointed a director, he reported to the Government on the advisability of taking steps to do away with these drawbacks, and the task was entrusted to him, together with two former clergymen in Greenland, to submit the preliminary regulations for the boards of guardians in Greenland to a thorough revision. It was then first of all agreed upon that the difference prevailing between North and South Greenland should be abolished, and uniform rules and regulations be introduced everywhere. On his voyage of inspection in Greenland, in the summer of 1872, Rink collected suggestions and experiences regarding the boards of guardians throughout Greenland, and discussed possible new regulations with those who were familiar with, and interested in the subject, these discussions also taking place at meetings held with natives at various places. The result of the work of the commission was placed before the Government in the form of "Provisional Regulations as to the Funds of the Greenlanders and the Boards of Guardians in Greenland" and was officially sanctioned on January 31st, 1872. Rink was particularly concerned that the greatest possible economy should be practised regarding the funds of the institutions in question, so that capital might be saved up, until a wider experience had been obtained as to the best possible manner of using it. This must be said to have been attained to a surprising extent within the period of his directorship. In 1881 the reserved capital of these funds amounted to 91,800 kroner in bonds, 84,274 kroner in outstanding debts, the printer's shop at Godthaab and a building in Copenhagen which was to be used as a home for young Greenlanders training for various positions, the total value of the latter assets being approximately 28,000 kroner.

In the same manner it may be said that the boards of guardians, during Rink's directorship, developed regularly and steadily in the direction intended. It could, however, naturally not be avoided that some of the native guardians did not prove equal to, and even abused their positions, so that it became necessary to remove them; but, everything considered, the institution stood the test from the point of view of general utility, and the number of cases of native guardians being praised for ability and excellent work in the task to which they had been appointed were far greater than those in which the reverse had been the case.

One of Rink's main principles in his conception of the native population was that the maxim that "law is the foundation of the State" must also be applied in relation to the small Arctic community. Therefore, his idea in instituting the boards of guardians was to create a basis for a Greenland legislation. The old customs and rules, by which the social life had been regulated in pre-European times had gradually been disturbed or forgotten, and the chief concern was now to create something serviceable and universal on the basis of that which had developed in the meantime. In this Rink succeeded, in so far as large material was collected in the course of the many discussions at the meetings of the boards of guardians, which material comprised many clear and sensible views set forth by thoughtful Greenlanders. By means of this material it became possible to prepare a draught for a guide or primer in Greenlandic regulations and customs, which was printed in 1881 and sent up to Greenland, to be subjected to the critical revision of specially appointed natives in each district. This little "attempt at making a draught for a collection of Greenland laws", as Rink himself called it, was based upon statements made by a number of natives, partly catechists and partly breadwinners, and it contains the following sections: 1) the difference between the laws and customs of Denmark and Greenland; 2) the family, those who belong to the same household and dwelling place; 3) the occupations and property of the inhabitants; 4) loans, savings and inheritances; 5) the education of the children; 6—9) the instruction of the kayak apprentices in the various problems of their craft; 10) the means of subsistence and trades of the natives; 11) the common tasks of those living in the same house; 12) the common household of those living together; 13) those belonging to the same dwelling place; 14) reciprocal community between the winter places; boards of guardians; 15) relief from the funds of the boards of guardians and "repartition" of the surplus of those boards; 16) administration of Justice. Part of this material rather belongs to what may be termed *customs* which could only be put into effect by moral coercion, inasmuch as the diligent Greenlanders in those might find the definite support which he had had to do without for such a long time, and which he might now refer to in his relation both to his countrymen and to Euro-

peans. On the other hand, a number of these "regulations" might easily be developed so as to become valid rules of law.

Thus Rink had taken the initiative to introduce legal order into the community of the Greenlanders, which order was based upon their own old customs and regulations and supported by an authority, *viz.* that of the native guardians. These efforts on his part were however violently criticized and attacked by the man, who soon afterwards succeeded him as the director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, and the natural result was that for many years to come they practically became of no account.

As also mentioned in the preceding articles, a separation of trade and administration in Greenland had been frequently discussed, indeed as far back as by the commission appointed in 1835. In the report of this commission which appeared in 1840, the desirability of such a separation was clearly stated, and it was proposed that a permanent commission of experts should be appointed. This commission was to be independent of the directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, as well as of the mission, and was to attend to the interests of Greenland and the affairs of the natives. Experience had already then shown that the directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company had frequently preferred the considerations of commerce to those of administration and civilization, and, further, it hardly requires any proof that trade and administration, generally speaking, cannot very well be attended to together. However, no step had as yet been taken towards separating these various departments, when Rink became a director, and his successor and opponent was able to plead that in the report of the commission of 1852, where this question was mooted once more, Rink himself had declared that "there was *no* occasion to make any change in the prevailing conditions". Neither was there any occasion for such a change at that time, seeing that there was not as yet the necessary basis for it. But since then conditions had considerably changed by the establishment of the boards of guardians, which institution was intended as an introduction to a separation of the two functions. In 1863 the Minister of the Interior had expressly stated that the object of the boards of guardians was to separate administration and trade, and this institution was consequently put directly under the Ministry. As the officials of the latter, however, were unfamiliar with conditions in Greenland, this led to their consulting the directors of the Royal Greenland Trading Company as experts, and no further progress was made.

In 1873 Rink, fully realizing how unnatural it was that questions relating to the spiritual interests of the Greenlanders, their laws and

municipal affairs, should be treated as questions of quite secondary importance in connection with matters of a perfectly mercantile character, submitted a proposal to the Government to establish the permanent commission which had already been planned in 1840; this commission was to consist of the director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company (in his capacity as administrator for the Greenlanders), an official appointed by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and a number of experts in the various fields of activity pursued in Greenland. The Government, however, did not consider it expedient to establish an advisory commission of that kind alongside the administration of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, and a renewed proposal to this effect fared no better. Rink then thought that, by limiting as much as possible the scope of that commission, he might perhaps obtain the sanction of the Government to its establishment, and therefore he again reported on this matter in 1877. The Government did not find occasion to accept the suggested new arrangement *in toto*, but still it gave allowance that the director, on his own recommendation, should have the opportunity of consulting with several experts appointed by the Ministry, and these experts he might further invite to meetings on Greenland questions, not directly concerning trade or mission. On the suggestion of the director, the Ministry then appointed six such expert advisers, who were constituted as the "Commission for the Affairs of the Greenlanders", and agreed on the following order of business. It was regarded as the chief task of the commission to become thoroughly acquainted with the activity of the boards of guardians in Greenland, and to collect material for the final arrangement of the latter and the possible draughting of laws for Greenland. The president (the director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company) was under obligation to put before the commission several of the affairs which might be referred to him by the Ministry. A copy of the minutes, into which also separate notes should be entered, was every year to be sent to the Ministry of the Interior.

This was not, it is true, a separation of trade and administration, but still a step in the right direction. And during the directorship of Rink the commission became more and more important as a consulting and advisory body in Greenland affairs; and there was every possibility for a real estimate, as all cases were viewed from different angles and discussed from various points of view, so that a one-sided treatment and decision was excluded. As long as Rink remained in office the commission steadily acquired more and more importance, but when his directorship came to a conclusion, the era of the commission was also ended, his successor being an opponent of the thought to separate trade and administration.

There was one more thing to which Rink devoted his whole-hearted attention, and which was in so far carried out within his directorship, and that was *the training of young natives* to take over certain positions in their own country.

This was a matter of *two-sided* importance. It partly concerned the economic position of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, in so far that the appointment of natives to the greatest possible extent within the settlements of Greenland, at any rate in all subordinate positions, would be considerably cheaper than a corresponding use of Europeans. And partly it concerned the Greenland community and its future, as when some of their own countrymen were engaged in the management and direction of the trade and other social matters, the population would be morally elevated and, in the course of time, made mature for freer intercourse with other peoples.

During the first years of the colonization of Greenland, only Europeans were used in all, superior as well as subordinate positions, within the trade and mission of Greenland. Already at an early period, however, it became the practice to use native catechists and teachers, as shown in the history of the mission. In the same manner it also became the practice to use native labour at the settlements, but only in positions which required no training whatever, as it was considered impossible to impart training of any kind in Greenland. In quite exceptional cases, occurring already at the end of the 18th century, young half-breeds were sent to Denmark and then, after a few years' training, appointed as artisans at settlements, but no account need be taken of these cases, as it was always done on private initiative. In pursuance of the discussions of the commission appointed in 1835, permission was granted, in the years 1837—43, to send a few young natives to Denmark to be trained, at the expense of the Government, partly for the service of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, and partly to be used by the mission. But this attempt was again given up, not because the result proved a failure, but probably because it was thought easier to send out Danes than to undertake the responsibility and the difficulties connected with having young natives staying in Denmark.

However, the practice was later on introduced of letting able young Greenlanders be trained under the Danish artisans at the settlements. This method Rink adopted during the time when he was inspector in Greenland, and he carried it out so well that, about 1870, the greater part of the artisans' work done in Greenland was performed by natives, though largely under the supervision of Europeans. In the same way there were a few natives who acted as managers of the branch trading posts, but this was only regarded as an emergency, as the people otherwise used for these positions were Danish artisans of good repute.

It was, however, Rink's idea that natives should be trained to perform independently all artisans' work in Greenland and to be managers of outposts, so that it would no longer be necessary to send up Danes for these positions. The professional knowledge required for this purpose it might, in an emergency, be possible to impart in Greenland, but if the natives were to hold equal positions with the Danes, a stay of several years in Denmark was required in order to obtain the more universal, intellectual and cultural training which alone might make this possible. Therefore, he resumed the plan from 1835, and in 1874 he caused a couple



The Julianehaab settlement as seen from the harbour. (John Müller phot).

of young Greenlanders to be sent to Denmark, where they were apprenticed to private individuals. But the plan was again abandoned a couple of years afterwards, because the projected "permanent commission" came to nought, and it proved impossible to make others help in the personal work entailed by taking care of the young people during their stay in Denmark. This assistance was, however, at last secured by the appointment of expert advisers in 1877. The necessary sanction for the resumption of the plan being once more secured, four young natives were sent to Denmark, in 1878, to be trained for the service of the Royal Greenland Trading Company. At the same time, on the initiative of the church authorities, some pupils from the teachers' training school were sent to Denmark for further training with a view to being eventually ordained as clergymen.

This suggested to Rink the idea of a "Home for Greenlanders" in

Copenhagen. After having thought over the matter carefully, he realized that the lodging of the Greenlanders in the houses of private individuals would partly be too much dependent upon chance, and moreover accustom these young Greenlanders to a mode of life which they would not be able to satisfy in their future sphere of life in Greenland. He, therefore, proposed to build a house in the outskirts of Copenhagen, the property of the Greenland commission, where these young people might live; the building expenses were to be defrayed by the funds of the boards of guardians, while the working of the home and the subsistence of the pupils were to be paid out of these and the common funds together. It was not the idea that this home should be a training school; on the contrary, the young natives were to be instructed by employers throughout the town, and as far as possible accustom themselves to associate with strangers. But it should be a common home, where it would furthermore be possible to supervise the young Greenlanders in their free time and exercise a certain control over them.

After the matter had been thoroughly discussed with the Commission for Greenland Affairs Rink, in 1879, submitted a proposal to the Government for the carrying out of the plan. He had very far reaching ideas regarding the use of this projected building, which, in his opinion, should not only accomodate artisans, apprentices and catechists, but perhaps, already from the outset, young unmarried or married Greenlanders who might be trained as managers for outposts, later on also as assistants of physicians, while the wives of the married men might be instructed in nursing and midwifery. Furthermore, he was of the opinion that the building was to be calculated for a still more extensive use in the future, as it might be considered desirable to honour deserving Greenlanders of the breadwinners' class by inviting them to stay in Denmark for some time, or possibly to invite them for discussions on affairs relating to Greenland.

The Ministry sanctioned Rink's plan for the building of the house proposed, also as far as concerned its size, but, for the time being, it would only give permission to take into the house such as, according to the decision of the Ministry itself, should be trained as artisans, catechists or midwives; later on it would have to be considered whether the institution might be extended so as to comprise other natives.

A site was bought and a rather large house built, which was opened in 1880 as a "Home for Greenlanders". The regulations were: 1) that the young natives, during their stay there, should try to learn the Danish language and Danish customs so thoroughly as to command the respect necessary for their future position, both in relation to their countrymen and Europeans; they should not, in any way, be accustomed to luxury, but remain Greenlanders in their demands on life; 2) that the home

should, at the same time, be an educational establishment where the young boarders were in every respect brought up according to strict rules, and taught to practise economy, and also, as far as their time permitted, to take part in the daily household work; and there should also be regular evening and morning prayers in the Greenlandic language; 3) that the direction of the home should be entrusted to the Commission for Greenland Affairs whose Copenhagen members, whenever opportunity offered, should take part in the daily supervision and, at least once a month, inspect the whole home; the result of this inspection and the opinions expressed and orders given to the manager by the director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company and the physician appointed should be entered into a register, and in this register the members of the commission were further entitled to enter their remarks or proposals relating to the establishment.

After the "Home for Greenlanders" had been going on for a year or a little more, Rink submitted to the Government an exhaustive report on its use until then. In this report he mentioned *inter alia* quite frankly that a few of the young Greenlanders, who had been apprenticed to an artisan, after some time had been taken to the offices of the trading company, to learn to write and to keep accounts with the object that they might, at some future time, be appointed managers of outposts; further, he gave information that a native manager of an outpost in Greenland had come there, solely to be trained in everything belonging to that work, or in other words, he had been permitted to stay in the "Home for Greenlanders" for other purposes than being trained as an artisan.

It cannot, it is true, be denied that Rink in taking this step had exceeded his powers. He defended it by pointing to the fact that "all the details of the carrying out of the enterprise had been left to the director of the trading company", but although it showed great foresight on his part regarding the actual trend of its development in future years, this action became fatal both to himself and to Greenland.

Throughout his term of office, Rink had met with great reserve on the part of the authorities, whenever he proposed some reform or new measure. As already mentioned, he had for instance been obliged to set forth his proposal for a permanent expert commission several times, before it was carried into effect, and then only in a greatly modified form. Neither did he meet with the support of the authorities in carrying out his director's duties. Thus, the position as accountant to the Royal Greenland Trading Company which had become vacant in 1872, was given to an elderly official from one of the ministries, a man who knew nothing about conditions in Greenland, and who further occupied a perfectly irrelevant position in the State railways, and this in spite of the fact that Rink had recommended a thoroughly suitable candidate connected with

the administration of Greenland. At first Rink patiently put up with this, but when he found that the various duties of the new official put obstacles in the way of a regular routine, he finally, in 1875, lodged a complaint with the Ministry. The answer he received was a brief and sharp rebuff, couched in very offensive terms, which caused him to send in his resignation. Only by the direct intercession of the Minister of the Interior he withdrew his resignation, and consented to remain at his post. In the following years he again, on several occasions, met with lack of good-will or even actual opposition on the part of the Government; still, in spite of all this, he succeeded, as already mentioned, in effecting the most important of his plans for the benefit of Greenland.

But when the "Home for Greenlanders" was opened and arranged, the opposition centred round this, and at last it became too much for Rink. It has already been mentioned that the Government immediately opposed the more extended use of the new establishment which Rink had in view from the first. And his detailed report of May 30th, 1881, on the results of the first years, occasioned the Ministry to set forth a very sharp and detailed criticism on his general attitude towards the "Home for Greenlanders", and this he regarded "not merely as a sharp rebuke" of his activity in connection with the said establishment, but as a disavowal of his whole directorship. An attempt to clear up possible misunderstandings by a personal conference only resulted in it being intimated to Rink that the complaints about his attitude towards his pet scheme, the "Home for Greenlanders", were in reality far more numerous, and that a number of these had only been left out in order to "spare" him. He made one more attempt to defend himself by writing a concise report of his activity at the home, in which he explained his dispositions and tried to make the authorities change their minds. But this only resulted in a new official communication from the Ministry, which on every point corroborated the former, and in its form was "a rebuke so sharp that I had never thought that any Ministry would express itself in such a manner, even to the meanest and youngest of its functionaries".

After this, Rink considered it impossible to remain in office any longer, and he sent in his resignation on January 5th, 1882. In this he gave a detailed report of his activity throughout many years, in and on behalf of Greenland, and he concludes in the following words: "I had hoped by this measure (i. e. the "Home for Greenlanders") to get a further use for my knowledge of the Greenlandic language and Greenlandic customs, and my experiences through many years for the benefit of the Greenlanders. Unfortunately I have not succeeded in carrying out this plan to the satisfaction of the Ministry. The reason of this has only been my mistake regarding my powers, for I carried out the plan in the best of faith, thinking that it would win the approval of the Ministry. But by their disapproval

my responsibility towards those who should use the home has become so burdensome that I feel unequal to the guardianship of the young Greenlanders which I have held for more than three years. The successful carrying out of the undertaking depends entirely on the confidence felt, partly by the relatives of the young Greenlanders, partly by those who are to support the establishment. It is not only this confidence which has been shaken, but my position in relation to Greenland, which in other respects is fraught with responsibility, is made very difficult. As I must, furthermore, entirely renounce the fulfilment of my obligation to undertake voyages of inspection to Greenland, it would be in the interest of my office, if I were replaced by a younger and stronger successor."

On January 28th, 1882, the resignation of Rink was accepted. On the same day his successor was appointed, a comparatively young official from the Ministry of the Interior who had no knowledge whatsoever of Greenland and conditions there beyond what he had learned by having, for some years, reported on matters concerning Greenland to the head of the department.

This led to a very painful sequel as far as Rink was concerned. He had received the impression — which for that matter seems to be strengthened by documents relating to this affair — that his successor had used his position in the Ministry for a systematic counteraction and had been at the back of all the want of good will and all the rebuffs he had met with during his directorship. Consequently, he was bitterly hurt by this appointment and took occasion to publish a writing on the Greenlanders "their future and the measures for their benefit" in which he gave a detailed account of his activity on behalf of the Greenlanders. The treatise occasioned a sharp reply on the part of his successor, and Rink then answered with a "continuation" of his first writing which was answered by his opponent in "further remarks", this in its turn calling forth a "second continuation" on the part of Rink. In this controversy it seems as if public opinion was chiefly on the side of Rink, but on the other hand, it could not but be slightly influenced by the dialectic ability of his successor and his shrewd use of statements, made by Rink at various times, which seemed to contradict each other — the natural consequence of his views having undergone a considerable change during the long period he had occupied himself with Greenland affairs.

The whole of this affair left great and undeserved bitterness in the mind of Rink. He expressly states that he "felt as if he had been forced out of his office", and his opponent's first controversial writing he characterizes rightly as "a description of my activity during my term of office as an unbroken series of errors and omissions", and he adds "he concludes his testimonial to me by reminding the reader that Dr. Rink when he left the administration of Greenland, left the people in a state which he him-

self describes as the most abject misery". It is quite true that Rink had expressed himself in these terms, but it was a dialectic trick to use his words in this manner, as the whole of his directorship had been aiming at measures towards counteracting "this abject misery", and it was naturally not to be expected that these measures could show great and immediate results.

By the development of conditions since then Rink has received a just and greatly needed redress. And the stagnation, not to say decline, in conditions on Greenland which he witnessed during the directorship of his successor, may perhaps have afforded him a kind of bitter consolation. But Rink felt forced out of his position, "until the last, treated with scorn by my successor", and at the same time deserted by some of the men in Greenland who had formerly been his most zealous collaborators, but who now greeted the new regime with enthusiasm. And for these reasons he left Denmark and took up his abode in Christiania where he remained till his death in December, 1893, until the last occupied with literary work relating to Greenland, and taking the most vivid interest in the common weal of the natives.

For Rink Greenland became his life-task. In 1845, after having attended the engineering school at Copenhagen and obtained his doctor's degree at Kiel he became, at the age of twenty-six, a member of the scientific expedition undertaken by the "Galathea". On this journey the commander entrusted him with the technical work connected with the construction of a temporary and experimental trading station on the Nicobar Islands, but after a stay of six months he was obliged to leave, owing to a violent attack of climatic fever, the effects of which he never quite overcame. Then in 1848 he was sent by the Danish Government to investigate the graphite-beds at Upernivik and Ũmánaq, and from this moment he was caught by Greenland, which held him for the remainder of his life. In the first instance, his choice was dictated by the state of his health, which forced him to seek a field of activity more suitable to his constitution. At any rate this was the reason he gave for his wish to be allowed to undertake geognostic and mineralogical investigations in our Arctic colony. But first and foremost his lifelong connection with Greenland was owing to the peculiar attraction which that country exercises on those who once have gone to live there. First the *country* caught his interest and then the *people* his heart—this peculiar people who know the "struggle for life," as hardly any other nation in the world; whose necessities are inconceivably few and simple, and who in spite of everything lead such a happy life, free and untrammelled as is the lot of very few nations; who with all their primitiveness and their obvious defects possess the most virile and attractive qualities: perseverance, patience, quickness and resourcefulness in danger, an incredible hardiness, and in addition a natural amiability and tact,

which we may in vain look for among more polished nations and which makes the stranger feel almost more at home with them than among those of his own nationality. When Rink had once "realized" the Eskimo people, he became their defender and protector, their lawgiver and advocate; it was he who discovered their abilities and powers, who believed in them in the midst of their greatest decline and deepest degradation, and who worked with undivided unselfish devotion on their behalf from his youth until his death.

After Rink, in 1849, had finished the task which had been entrusted to him in Greenland, he addressed a petition to the King, asking for a continuation of the grant he had received, or any other opening, for instance by a permanent appointment in the service of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, so that he might be able to continue his geological, mineralogical and other investigations and, so far as possible, to extend them to the *whole* of the country. For the time being he was granted the means to continue his investigations, and in the following two years he travelled all over North Greenland and studied natural conditions. He succeeded at small expense and sometimes with great hardships to map the whole of the great coast land and to prepare the first geological map of North Greenland. But more particularly he occupied himself with the study of the inland ice. This huge sheet of ice had been known from the olden time, but its origin, motion and local connection with the icebergs of the northern seas, were first made the subject of scientific discussion by the investigations of Rink. His treatise, from 1853, "Om Isens Udbredning og Bevægelse over Nordgrønlands Fastland" was in this respect an epoch-making work, both because it already established the main feature of our present knowledge of the inland ice, and because it appeared at a time when the geologists were in the midst of a controversy regarding the problem of a North-European glacial epoch. For this reason it obtained a very great actuality and, at a stroke, made the name of its author known throughout the learned world.

In 1851 Rink returned to Denmark to take a seat in the Commission for Greenland Affairs where also the problem of monopoly or abolition was to be discussed. On behalf of this commission he travelled throughout South Greenland in 1852 and then published "Om Monopolhandelen paa Grønland", in which writing he strongly maintained the necessity of retaining the monopoly during the first generation or two. Already at this period the thought which became the aim of his life had crystallized—*viz.* to impart culture and civilization to the Greenlanders, so that they might keep and develop their power of resistance, and gradually be sufficiently matured both to attend to the direction of their own affairs and to extend their intercourse with foreigners, and this should be done by slow stages and under an effective control, as distinguished from other primitive peoples

to whom civilization had come so suddenly that it led to their demoralization and decimation.

At the same time Rink compiled a literary work of high merit and invaluable importance. On the strength of his multifarious investigations, studies and observations during the five years he had travelled throughout the country and occupied himself with conditions there, he wrote his standard work "Grønland, geografisk og statistisk beskrevet," which appeared in 1852—57 in two parts, and was re-published in English in a considerably extended form in 1877 under the title "Danish Greenland, its People and Products." Since Hans Egede's "Perlustration af det gamle Grønland" (1741) no single work has given so universal, vivid and graphic a picture of the nature and people of Greenland.

About that time Rink became officially and permanently attached to the administration of Greenland. In 1853, he entered the service of the Royal Greenland Trading Company as "Kolonibestyrer" in Julianehaab, with the authority of an inspector over the southern part of South Greenland, and in the same year he married Signe Møller (born in Godthaab in 1836, died in Christiania 1909). His marriage with a woman who was born and bred in Greenland, and thus thoroughly familiar with the language and manner of thinking of the natives, became of invaluable assistance both in his work on behalf of the Greenlanders, and in his scientific studies and investigations, particularly of folklore. Besides assisting her husband in his work, Signe Rink wrote some novels on Greenland and the Greenlanders.

In 1857 Rink moved to Godthaab as deputy inspector of South Greenland, and in the following year he was officially appointed inspector. And in this position he began, in right earnest, to work for the common and spiritual weal of the Greenlanders and for the restoration of the social organization of the country. At his suggestion and with the support of other Godthaab officials, particularly the linguist Sam. Kleinschmidt and H. F. Jørgensen, head of the seminary, the boards of guardians were started under his personal direction, first, as an isolated experiment and, later on, in a more settled and elaborate shape; also in order to further develop the independence of the natives and their interest in their own affairs he established a small printing press at Godthaab, which among other things, since 1861, has sent out the Greenlandic monthly *Atuagagdliutit* (i. e. reading). At the same time his scientific interests went more and more in the direction of ethnography, and he began to study the language of the Eskimos, their customs and traditions; in 1866 he published "Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn," a "Supplement" to which appeared in 1874. And during the following twenty years his investigations were gradually made to comprise the whole of the Eskimo people, their origin, distribution, language, customs etc. He published his results in "The Eskimo Tribes" which appeared

(1887) as the eleventh volume of "Meddelelser om Grönland." But in addition, he published a great number of pamphlets and treatises on conditions in Greenland, as contributions to Danish and foreign periodicals. It may be said that there is practically no field relating to the Eskimos and especially the Greenland Eskimos, which he has not at some time or other touched upon. In the course of time he became a member, both of the Danish and several foreign societies, and when the Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Investigations in Greenland was established in 1878, he became an active and highly valued member until his death in 1890.

His work as a director, which position he accepted exclusively in the hope of being able to do something for the Greenlanders has been described in the preceding pages. By the toughness which he possessed in spite of his high-strung and very susceptible temperament, he lived to carry out several of his aims, and at the same time to see the decay of the population of Greenland come to a stop. But, as already mentioned, he also met with much resistance and was bound to see his well-meant efforts in various directions set aside and his reforms disavowed. To a certain extent the reason for this was to be looked for in himself. Frail in health and therefore often rather irritable he often alienated people, and although he had a sharp perception of the value of facts, he was slow to reach a final decision and sometimes made the impression of being irresolute. Diplomatic skill he did not possess in any large degree, and there was very little pliability in his mental make-up, which made him a comparatively easy prey for his opponents. And so his old age was full of bitterness, which was undeserved, in view of his zeal, and his warm interest in, and love of that which had captured his heart when a young man. Curiously enough, this is a fate which has overtaken several of those men who have meant most to Greenland.

There are not many who have desired more ardently than Rink to benefit Greenland, and to give its population the possibilities of progress in all fields. Since the time of the Egede family no one has a stronger claim on the gratitude of the Greenlanders than he. All that he did for their benefit was permeated by the thought that the Greenlanders, by these means, were to be roused to a feeling of responsibility for their own future, stimulated in their inclination to join in the work towards development, and strengthened in their confidence that the essence of all work for Greenland was the wish to make the population able, provident and progressive. During the period of Rink a feeling began to make itself felt that the administration should have a cultural mission among the native population — until then it had been thought sufficient only to *rule*.

On the centenary of the birth of Rink a monumental stone was put up in his honour at Godthaab. On that occasion it was said by one of the

native speakers that "on Rink's work for Greenland everything rests which, until now, has been undertaken in this direction, for up to the present his thoughts and work are both unsurpassed."

This is the literal truth. Greenland came to bear the impress of Rink much longer than the actual period in which he devoted to it his love and strength. His plans and ideas could be stopped, but they could not die. He says, himself, in the writing which he published in 1882 on his forced resignation: "I cannot doubt but that a change will set in once



The Umánaq settlement as seen in midnight sun. (A. Bertelsen phot.).

more, and that these tasks will be taken up again." And he was right. They *were* taken up again.

The true greatness of Rink is shown by the fact that even now we are in many respects working on the realization of his thoughts and plans for Greenland and the Greenlanders.

The post-Rink period was characterized by stagnation, and the reforms and new experiments started by him were all more or less neglected.

The permanent "Commission for the Affairs of the Greenlanders" soon lost its significance. The number of members was more and more limited; it was rarely called together, and in 1889 its activity was entirely suspended.

after which it was decided, by a resolution of 1893, that the commission was not to meet any more. The director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, it is true, was given free right of disposal regarding affairs connected with the boards of guardians, before such affairs were submitted to the Ministry, also to confer with officials who had done service in Greenland or who were staying in Denmark on furlough; but as far as is known, no use was ever made of this permission.

The chief object of the activity of the permanent commission was, as mentioned above, to deal with affairs submitted to the Ministry by the native boards of guardians. The result of the successive falling off and final abolition of the commission was, quite naturally, that the importance of the boards of guardians was considerably reduced, in so far as all decisions were taken in accordance with a definite view, and there was therefore no possibility of individual opinions asserting themselves in the native boards of guardians. Thus the institution, generally speaking, came less and less to answer its original purpose, *viz.* to be a natural organ for the special interests of the native population.

Rink's favorite scheme, the "Home for Greenlanders", did not fare much better. His successor, it is true, called it "an experiment made by my predecessor which I naturally feel obliged to continue". But obligation is not the same as interest and love, and therefore the continuation did not become what Rink had intended or desired.

During the directorship of Rink, the "Home for Greenlanders" was an object of great concern, not only to himself — as a matter of fact he devoted the greater part of his spare time to it and inspected it almost daily — but also to the members of the permanent commission who were residents of Copenhagen and took part in the inspection, each in his own field. Thus it had become possible to keep the young natives as much as possible from being unfavorably influenced by their nearest surroundings, and should such be the case at the places where they received their training, to neutralize and control the effects of this influence on their young minds. Further, Rink had shown the utmost care in choosing the man who was to supervise the daily working of the home, and above all that he was really interested in his task. At the time when Rink resigned his office, this position had unfortunately fallen vacant, and the new director appointed a manager who had no connection whatever with Greenland, and passed over another whom Rink had in view for the post and with whom he had already made an oral agreement. Thus the "Home for Greenlanders" no longer became a home in the best sense of the word, as it had actually been until then. Also, the supervising activity of the permanent commission was now at an end, and so it was unavoidable that the unfavorable influence to which the apprentices were subject in workshops and elsewhere came to exercise a lasting effect on their minds.

Therefore, within a very short time, both the "Home for Greenlanders" and the plan for the training, on a large scale, of young natives in Denmark fell into bad repute. Fewer and fewer apprentices came, and at last none at all, to take the place of those who had served their apprenticeship and gone back to Greenland. In 1893 only two were receiving instruction, and in 1896 the director informed the two inspectors in Greenland that the Ministry of the Interior had authorized him 1) to put an end to the experiment which had been made during a number of years to train young Greenlanders as artisans while staying in Copenhagen; 2) to give up the boarding house, called "Home for Greenlanders" in which the native apprentices, sent to Copenhagen, had been placed during their stay there. In the opinion of the director this, the leading thought of Rink's life, never reached beyond the experimental stage, and the "Home for Greenlanders" in Copenhagen, which he himself regarded as the culmination of all that he had been able to effect for the benefit of the nation, was not acknowledged as an institution of any importance, but only as — a boarding house! A greater scorn could not have been shown to the memory of the great explorer and benefactor of the Greenland people, and we must be grateful that he himself did not live to hear this sentence passed on his life-work.

The number of young Greenlanders trained by means of this "experiment" was thirty-one, *viz.* sixteen from South and fifteen from North Greenland. The duration of their apprenticeship differed, three apprentices only staying for one year in Copenhagen, eight for two years, four for three and sixteen for from four to five years. Two of these apprentices died, and most of them passed through various and even very serious diseases, during the early part of their stay in an unaccustomed climate and under unfamiliar conditions.

Twelve of these young Greenlanders were trained as carpenters, especially as ships' carpenters, three as coopers, two as printers and one as manager of an outpost, while no less than thirteen were trained as gun makers. With quite few exceptions they all proved efficient and willing to learn, and they received good, some of them even quite excellent testimonials from their instructors. The fact that an unproportionable number were trained as smiths and especially as gun makers — indeed, so many that it proved difficult to find work for them at the settlements — was essentially due to the fact that an instructor had been found who, with especial care, undertook the training of young Greenlanders in this trade, and in such a manner as to protect them against bad influences during their apprenticeship, which could not always be said to be the case with the other teachers. But it seems likely that this difficulty might have been overcome with a little care and good will — at any rate Rink and his colleagues in the permanent commission would not have let themselves be disheartened by it.

As appears from what has been said above, only one native was trained with the purpose of becoming a manager of an outpost, although in the opinion of Rink this was one of the most important objects of the further training in Denmark and the stay in the "Home for Greenlanders". But, as we have already heard, it was impossible for him to impart his own views on the matter to the authorities, and in this respect his successor was his keen opponent.

In Greenland itself, however, the development tended towards gradually replacing, with natives, the old Danish sailors and artisans appointed as managers of outposts; and this development went on and could not be stopped as the traders at the settlements, who were responsible for trade relations within their own district, and thus had a decisive vote in the appointment of their subordinates, preferred natives. But after the failure of Rink's plans these natives who were entrusted with the management of outposts, were deprived of the more thorough training, both in their trade and in the Danish language and culture, which was so greatly needed, and which many of them have, later on, regretted that they had to dispense with. It is to the credit of the Greenlanders as a nation that, in spite of this, the result in most cases was satisfactory, and that the persons in question often performed their duties far beyond expectation. At the same time, the Danes occupying subordinate positions were tied to Greenland in a kind of bondage, for already in 1882 it was decided, by a ministerial resolution, that Danish traders of the lower grades, married to native women, were not allowed to leave Greenland and live in Denmark, unless they were able to prove beforehand that they could defray the cost of their home journey, and that they could maintain themselves in a legitimate manner; neither were they permitted to enjoy the pension which they might possibly be entitled to, outside Greenland.

Otherwise practically no changes were made in the existing state of affairs during this period. No improvements or reforms were undertaken and no experiments made, either in Greenland or regarding the administration and methods of trade in Copenhagen. On the other hand, all that was aimed at was the cheapest administration possible. The immediate result was, as far as Greenland was concerned, the gradual decay of buildings, fixtures and vessels belonging to settlements and outposts, while the native population in every respect came to a standstill from the point of view of development. No attempt was made to change for the better the "poor" state of the Greenland dwelling places as well as the Greenland community generally, which Rink described so aptly in his writings. And as to the trade on Greenland it was practically all the time carried on at a loss. This, it is true, was chiefly due to the constantly falling prices of seal oil. The production remained unchanged at about 10,000 barrels a year, but while the price of a barrel in the years before 1880 was 70—80

kroner, it gradually declined, especially owing to the increasing production of whale oil throughout the world, until it was now only worth about 30 kroner per barrel, which, on this commodity only, amounted to a loss of income of about 400.000 kroner. But it was *also* due to the maintenance of the old methods of disposal and the fact that no attempt had been made to introduce a rational treatment of the oil, so as to be able to supply a better product which might come to be in greater demand and easier to sell, or to find and develop other sources of income, both for the benefit of the native population and the trading company. Thus, the development of the Greenland fisheries which began at this very period, and since then have made greater and greater progress, was due to the private initiative of the Danish officials, and it was only by slow stages and very reluctantly that these steps were approved of by the administration of the trading company; also, when at last they took over the direction of these experiments, it was, at any rate at first, not further to develop them, but rather to check them as being detrimental to the "national trade" of the Greenlanders, *viz.* sealing.

The few new things introduced in this period were not of such a kind as to have any influence on the conditions treated in this article.

From 1882 the Royal Greenland Trading Company began to issue a report in two to four instalments yearly, not as one might be tempted to imagine to acquaint the public with conditions in Greenland, but only with the object of being "in the future able to impart quickly and with greater expediency such general information as might be of interest to all officials and traders in Greenland." They were, especially, to include information of the changes which in the past year had taken place regarding the personnel of the company, the approved plans regarding the disposal of the traders at the various settlements and the navigation of Greenland. Further, such administrative decisions and regulations as might be of lasting or more general interest.

These reports were inaugurated by a statement relating to Rink's withdrawal from office and the appointment of his successor, which must be said to be the most important item of news contained in them for a number of years. Later on, it became the general practice also to include short reports and communications of the activity of the boards of guardians. But beyond the purely local Greenland interest they cannot be said to be of any importance.

In 1884 a new general price list was issued for the settlements of Greenland. It was somewhat simplified as compared with the former ones, as a number of old "classes" of commodities were dropped and others set apart, so that they could only be required for special use and not be kept in store.

A new departure was, also, an annual amount of up to 500 kroner which from the year 1884 was placed at the disposal of the inspectors from

each of the two common funds of North and South Greenland. The object was that the inspectors, with the assistance of the guardians, should use these amounts for the benefit of the native population, especially as prizes for economic husbandry, and these prizes might also be given to women.

In the same year the regulations applying to the import of spirits to Greenland were made stricter. It had been said that when the Europeans in Greenland had access to the use of alcohol, the native population, in this respect, ought to be on an equal footing with them, but, on the other hand, it was maintained that this was altogether due to a misunderstanding. Europeans were from their homes accustomed to the use of alcohol so that it might be said to belong to their mode of living, whereas this could not in any way apply to the Greenlanders. Considering the unhappy consequences which the introduction of alcoholic drinks elsewhere had on nations, similar in occupations and manner of living to the Greenlanders, it was maintained—and with justice—that free access to such in Greenland would, in all probability, do great harm, indeed, might be said to endanger the very existence of the population. Therefore, permission should not be given to allow the native population free access to alcohol, while, in their turn, the Europeans appointed in Greenland would have to submit to a certain control regarding their consumption of alcohol.

The printing office in Godthaab, which had been founded by Rink, had hitherto been worked at the expense of the common funds for South Greenland. In 1885 it was decided that South Greenland should defray three fifths and North Greenland two fifths of the expenses accruing therefrom. The result was that several copies of the periodical *Atuagagdliutit* were now sent to North Greenland, and that the articles written by natives on conditions of common interest were more widely circulated than before.

In the same year new instructions were issued for the official who had been appointed controller of the private cryolite mine at Ivigtut. By these instructions he was given greater authority than formerly, and at the same time the scope of his activity was somewhat extended. This was probably done because it was considered desirable to obtain as large a royalty from the cryolite mine as possible, in view of the constant deficit of the trade.

A further step in the same direction was undoubtedly the renewed attempt on the part of the Danish Government to limit, as much as possible, the liberties taken by foreign nations in the waters of Greenland, as had also been attempted during the early periods of the trade. As late as 1885 many Scotch whalers had been frequenting Davis Strait, Baffin Bay and Melville Bay, while American fishermen, without fear, visited the banks off Holsteinsborg. In addition to the losses incurred by the company because the Greenlanders were thus

incommoded in their occupations, the frequent visits of the foreign vessels at the settlements had as usual, in various respects, been detrimental both to the administration and the population. Consequently, the company caused a man-of-war to be sent up in certain summers on cruises of inspection in Davis Strait, to fly the Danish colours, and to keep the foreigners outside the territorial line, as well as to prevent illicit trading with the native population. In the following years the foreign fishing expeditions were gradually restricted, and at last ceased altogether. This can hardly be ascribed to the presence of the man-of-war, but rather to the fact that the number of whales decreased, and the fish changed their routes of migration. However, the economic status of the trading company was not much improved by this measure.

In 1888 a long needed step was undertaken, *viz.* to modify the antiquated system of salaries for the trading officials in Greenland. Till then the actual amount of salary had been very small — to all intents and purposes the same as had been fixed when the Government in 1774 took over the Greenland trade—while the main income of the traders had consisted in percentages and various other emoluments connected with their position. As a matter of course this had made their income fluctuate greatly, especially that part derived from percentages which in one year might be practically *nil* and in the following very considerable. Now the wages were, in the main, fixed at a definite amount, the employées being divided into age classes, while only a small part of their income continued to be derived from percentages. The object of this arrangement was partly to make the employées interested in the production, and partly to level the differences in size between the various districts, in view of the greater or smaller responsibility of each person concerned. It would naturally not result in increased expense to the company; on the contrary, it might bring a higher income in such years when the production was very high and when, by the old arrangement, the amount to be paid in percentages would have been unproportionably high.

The most important step which was undertaken during this period was, however, the transition to the use of steam-vessels in the navigation of Greenland. The first steamer was built in 1888, a screw bark, which was of greater capacity than any of the sailing vessels hitherto used and which could make three voyages to Greenland in each season. The result of this was *inter alia* that it became possible to send an early mail, the “spring mail”, from and to North Greenland *via* Holsteinsborg, the most northerly settlement of South Greenland, where the Danish vessel called every year on its first voyage; thus a biannual communication was established between Denmark and this hitherto most isolated province, and it became possible to receive answers to letters and requests, and to effectuate orders from there to the Mother-country and *vice versa*, within the same season.

This new venture was, however, in an unusual degree attended by accidents. The first steamer was wrecked, though without loss of life, on April 12th, 1895, at Nunarssuit, where it had sought a port of refuge. The company then bought a former Norwegian whaling boat, which was lost in October, 1896, with every one on board, on its way back from Julianehaab, and a steamer which was chartered to take its place was burnt down on the way out, off the Shetland Islands, the crew being taken onboard by a passing steamer. This, however, did not materially influence the new departure in the navigation of Greenland, for in 1898 another steamer was bought which marked the end of the accidents and the stabilization of the arrangement.

In 1889 another change of director was made, the successor and opponent of Rink being transferred to a position in one of the ministries and replaced by a man who had succeeded Rink as inspector of Godthaab, and had worked there faithfully to carry out his plans. The conservative tendency in the administration of Greenland had, however, become too firmly established to permit of a speedy change, even if this had been the plan of the new director. Still, he was able to carry out a number of reforms.

Information received through Danish and foreign scientific expeditions visiting Greenland had gradually called attention to this peculiar country, which had hitherto been more or less shrouded in mystery, and through the civilized world the desire arose to become better acquainted with it. Already in 1893 this led to a petition from the Danish Tourist Company to obtain permission for the equipment of tourist expeditions to Greenland. This, however, was refused, the reason given being that if such a permission had once been granted, it would not be possible to refuse it on later occasions, while the monopoly and consideration for the native population alike forbade the opening up of the country to foreigners—even as tourists; moreover, there might be accidents with fatal consequences owing to the lack of knowledge of the difficult coasts; and these arguments have remained in force until the present time.

One of the most important events which took place within this period was, however, connected with East Greenland.

After the investigation of that part of the country through the expedition of Holm and Garde in 1883—85, and particularly Holm's wintering at Angmagssalik, the small Eskimo tribe living there had been made known, and the wish arose for the establishment of a mission and trading station, in order that the population might become christianized and attached to their native homes. Otherwise it was feared that the east coast would gradually be depopulated by the inhabitants leaving it to go and settle on that part of the west coast which had already been visited by them on trading expeditions. This was all the more to be avoided, as it had been proved by experience that intercourse with other tribes by no means was

good for them, the greater part of the East Greenlanders who had gone on these journeys having been carried away by illness and want.

The efforts to carry out this plan did not prove successful. But the matter was very pressing, as trading voyages to the west coast with the consequent settling there of East Greenlanders became more and more frequent. So after this plan had been discussed from every point of view and in all details, it was at last agreed upon, and it was resolved to try to obtain a Government grant for carrying it out. At the end of August and the beginning of September, 1894, houses, materials and merchandise for the new station were transported up there together with the necessary employées, and on October 10th, in the same year, it was officially communicated "that the Danish Government had established a trading station on the east coast of Greenland, this station being situated at Angmagssalik in lat. $65^{\circ} 36'$ N. and long. $37^{\circ} 30'$." In the communication it was enforced that "Danes and foreigners" alike were forbidden to navigate the coasts and islands belonging to the Danish settlements and stations in Greenland, except in cases of emergency, unless the permission of the Danish Government be obtained beforehand, and further it is forbidden to trade with the natives living on the coasts or islands," by which provision the new station was included in the monopoly.

The principle underlying the administration of this station was partly a new one, though radically the same as the one which originally applied to the whole of Greenland. The object was to subject the population to a slow cultural process by merely supplying it with such commodities as could be strictly called necessities and means to maintain their trade and, in return, only acquiring such articles as the population did not need in their own economic life, in other words blubber and part of the sealskins.

This principle must be said to have been carried through with quite unusual success. The people are now christianized and possessed of a considerable degree of culture; at the same time, far from being impoverished and decimated, the population has increased a good deal and also undergone material progress. The navigation has only failed in quite exceptional cases, although it is rather difficult owing to the pack ice which blocks the coast for the greater part of the summer. During later years it has even been possible to navigate it twice in the course of the late summer, once *via* Reykiavik to which the merchandise has been transported by the ordinary routes, to be fetched from there by the vessel after its first call at the station. The new station is, besides, in constant communication with the outer world by wireless. From Angmagssalik it was possible, in 1925, to recruit the greater part of the inhabitants of the newly founded Scoresby Sound settlement.

In the years 1902—04 the so-called Literary Greenland Expedition travelled in Greenland, under the command of the author and journalist Mylius-Erichsen, accompanied by Knud Rasmussen. The object of this expedition was to study the life of the Eskimos in the christianized West Greenland, as well as in the Cape York District where the inhabitants were still heathen, and by comparing conditions, to arrive at an understanding as to the manner in which civilization and culture had acted on the native population of Greenland in its entirety. The underlying idea was that



Scene from outpost. In the foreground bundles of staves for blubber-barrels.
(M. P. Porsild phot.).

what had been done on the part of Denmark, through mission and trade, had been rather to the detriment of the natives. And even though this point of view was greatly modified in the course of the expedition and through its investigations, one of its main results was nevertheless a severe criticism of the old system, which formed the basis of the administration of Greenland, and a demand, loudly expressed, for reforms. Even during the time of the expedition, but particularly after its return, a sharp public debate sprang up regarding conditions in Greenland, and this debate, in the following years, led to tangible results.

As one of the first of these results we may perhaps mention the concession on mining in Greenland, given in 1904 to a private individual who, with the permission of the company, had sent out expeditions to various parts of the country to carry out investigations with a view to mining. The concession which covered a period of twenty years was rather compre-

hensive, as it not only applied to the places discovered by the expedition and containing copper, lead, graphite, asbestos and mica, but also to such occurrences as might be discovered within the term of the concession, so that the use of these should be offered to the licensee, to declare for or against, within a certain term, after which the Government should be at liberty to dispose of them elsewhere. The mining begun on the strength of this concession—copper in the Josua Mine at Alángorssuaq on the Nunarssuit peninsula, between Julianehaab and Frederikshaab, and graphite at Amitsoq south of Julianehaab—was only kept up for a few years, as it proved unremunerative.

As further results of the critical debate which had sprung up during those years we must presumably regard, first, the building of the new, faster and more up-to-date screw steamer, "Hans Egede", by means of which it became possible to make four voyages to Greenland within each period of navigation; secondly, the starting of coasting navigation between the settlements and, finally, the resolution taken by the administration of the Royal Greenland Trading Company to begin to work the coal mines on the north side of the Nûgssuaq peninsula. By this measure, in connection with the newly established coasting navigation, it was thought that the company would be able partly to supply the settlements of Greenland with the coal needed for their economic life, and partly to be able to produce the coal necessary for the steamers of the company, thus making the Greenland coal more accessible to the native population.

This enterprise became of lasting importance to Greenland. The mine was opened in 1906 and rationally worked, almost exclusively by natives; it proved to answer its purpose quite well, until the beds were exhausted. A few years ago the whole of the establishment was consequently moved to Qudligssat on the north side of Disko by the Vaigat; there operations are now being carried on at full speed, and the beds are considered inexhaustible, within a reasonable length of time.

Another direct result of the Literary Greenland Expedition was the mission begun in 1909 under the leadership of natives at Ũmánaq in the Cape York District, and the Thule Station, which was founded one year later in the same place by Knud Rasmussen, with the object of trading with the natives, and of forming a basis for the scientific exploration of the Polar regions. The Cape York District, however, is still regarded as being outside the monopolized area of colonization.

There is no doubt that the criticism offered by Mylius-Erichsen exercised some influence on the Greenland Church and School Act of 1905, but this is not the place to go into details on this point. We only mention it here, because it broke new ground by giving rise to new demands, which had undoubtedly long been smouldering in the minds of the population of Greenland, but now found vent in the general commotion. An excellent

illustration of this is the following extract from a letter written by a native sealer on September 13th, 1905:

"The Greenlanders have also progressed in knowledge and development, but in spite of this they have never got any further. By this I mean that we were given more and more enlightenment, more and more actual knowledge, but that which should be the fruit of knowledge, *viz.* better conditions of life, and better positions we were never given. And therefore we were bound to stand still, in spite of our development.

"It is seen how the more intelligent Greenland children make progress and develop, while they are receiving instruction. But when the period of instruction is at an end, they are not given any chances and must fall back upon the ordinary Greenland existence, in which they do not need all they have learned. These young Greenlanders might be compared to candles which are lighted, but only to be extinguished again. They are led forth to a certain point, and at the very moment they arrive at the age when their possibilities should stand the test, they are left to their own devices. If a Greenlanders were taken in hand and given continued instruction until he had become receptive, then it would soon appear to what lengths he might go. To-day the Greenlanders may attain subordinate positions as managers of outposts under the chief traders. There may be native managers of outposts who have better brains and are more efficient than many a Danish "Kolonibestyrrer", but they can never attain that position, and that is because all higher posts are closed to them, only because they are Greenlanders.

"Here I must not forget to mention that the mission gives us access to the highest positions as chief catechists and clergymen; these are tasks which we are supposed to be able to fulfil, when only we are given sufficient training When we can be trained to be clergymen, why then should it not be possible to admit us to other influential positions?"

The most important result of the criticism offered by Mylius-Erichsen and that which came to have the widest scope was, however, the appointment in 1906 of a commission for the "competent investigation of the administration and working of the Royal Greenland Trade."

The commission consisted of eight members, five commercial experts, the administrative and the commercial director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, and a ministerial official. Thus, by its very composition this commission marks a rupture with the traditions from former commissions; only one of the members, *viz.* the administrative director of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, who had at one time been inspector of South Greenland, had a personal acquaintance with the country.

The composition of this commission clearly showed that the object aimed at was an objective *critical* estimation of the principles, by which the trade in Greenland had been carried on up to the present, and this was further

emphasized by the instructions which were to the effect that the methods and activity of the Royal Greenland Trading Company—without changing the monopoly—should be subjected to a closer expert investigation, and chiefly concerning the following points:

1. Changes which should be made in the present arrangement, both regarding the purchase of merchandise for Greenland and the produce brought home, the latter point further including the management of the premises of the Royal Greenland Trading Company in Copenhagen as well as the treatment of the commodities and produce.
2. Possible changes in the navigation of Greenland, especially with a view to reducing the costs of the same, without lessening the safety of transport.
3. A revision of the rates fixed for commodities sold to the Greenlanders, as well as the prices paid for native produce in Greenland, with a view both to the interests of the native population and trading costs.
4. A revision of the manner of keeping the accounts of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, chiefly with a view to their relation to the Treasury.

In their discussions on these points the members of the commission arrived at the following results:

As regards the purchase of merchandise imported to Greenland, it was not considered necessary to carry out any reforms, as it was found, on investigation, that the prices paid for these were fairly reasonable. It was, however, emphasized that a purely mercantile management would no doubt attain better results, seeing that a comparison, for instance between the prices of merchandise bought for the Greenland trade and those of corresponding articles purchased for Iceland, showed a difference to the disadvantage of the Royal Greenland Trading Company.

Regarding the disposal of the produce taken back to Denmark, the commercial experts, on the other hand, sharply criticized the principles hitherto followed. Special emphasis was laid on the facts *that* the seal oil was sold privately, without employing agents; *that* it was only sold in the Danish market, although the greater part of the produce was exported afterwards; *that* prices were reduced very considerably when selling larger consignments; *that* oil was sold at a price per barrel, although it was resold by weight; *that* buyers of consignments were granted respite of delivery and payment for an unreasonable length of time, no interest or warehouse rent being charged, at times even for a period of from twelve to fifteen months—"a manner of disposal which is quite unknown and inconceivable under ordinary conditions of trade, and entails heavy expenses for the company." It was strongly recommended that the whole of the sale of products on the earliest possible opportunity should be made to conform to ordinary mercantile principles, and that the company should take steps to enter

into direct communication with foreign buyers and to be able to ship the products abroad. Otherwise the sale of seal oil would first and foremost depend upon whether the administration of the company were possessed of sufficient commercial insight to be able to form an independent opinion of the possibilities for its sale at any given time.

Regarding the question of the premises and working conditions in Copenhagen, the commercial experts of the commission set forth as their opinion *that* the Royal Greenland Trading Company should sell the present expensive premises, and rent other and smaller ones; *that* the manufacturing of seal oil should exclusively take place in Greenland, and the oil be kept in tanks on the Copenhagen premises, where it should be refined and then sold, and *that* the present large permanent staff of workers ought to be considerably reduced, and casual labour employed when necessary.

Regarding the navigation of Greenland the commission advised, as soon as possible, to pass over to the use of steamers only, by which it was thought possible to reduce the freight expenses per ton to a little more than half of what they had hitherto been.

The strongest criticism, however, the commercial experts directed against the rates according to which commodities were disposed of and produce acquired in Greenland, and it was proved that the company suffered losses on the sale of the commodities imported and—in order only partly to cover expenses—were obliged to offer the native population ridiculously low prices for their products. This proceeding was characterized as quite wrong; it was not only objectionable from a commercial point of view, as tending to confuse the ideas of the population instead of developing them, but it was also an obvious injustice against the producers who thus came to bear all costs, and even had to make sacrifices in order to supply all the inhabitants of the country with necessities at a price which was below their real value. It was sharply emphasized that, by applying principles which were quite contrary to those underlying economic progress in all other countries, the administration delayed the development of the native population and excluded every possibility of its gradually becoming trained to enter into free trading communication with the outer world. It was also expressly stated that the sharp opposition of the commercial members of the commission not only rested on mercantile principles, but, even more, on the strong interest in the welfare of the natives which had naturally been aroused in them while working with conditions in Greenland.

Finally, the commission proposed that the Royal Greenland Trading Company should modify their system of keeping accounts so as to conform to the principles employed in any other large commercial enterprise, and independently of the public accounts.

At last the following was established as the main result of the discussions of the commission:

that the trade should be to be separated from the administration;

that the trade with the appertaining navigation should be made subject to a purely mercantile management and

that the task of the trading company should be to act as an intermediary between the native population and the European market, which should pay full prices for the products acquired in Greenland, only deducting freight and working expenses; in return, such commodities should be sent up to the country, as the Greenlanders desired and needed, at the lowest possible prices, including all costs. It was, in other words, the principles of the Danish cooperative societies which it was proposed to transplant to Greenlandic soil, and furthermore this would make a suitable transition from monopoly to free trade.

This radical proposal was not carried into effect, and the work of the commission did not lead to tangible results. The reforms which were attempted were in the opposite direction. Already while the commission was sitting, the Royal Greenland Trading Company set forth a suggestion—probably in order to anticipate an expected proposal from the commission—for the simplification of the trade and navigation of Greenland and the reduction of costs. This proposal was in its way sufficiently radical, for it signified the abandoning of all settlements or reducing them to outposts, with the exception of four, *viz.* Julianehaab, Godthaab, Egedesminde and Ũmánaq (or Nûgssuaq) which should be made emporiums to which the imported commodities were to be taken and further distributed by means of coasting vessels; here also the native products were to be collected and treated with a view to export, as for instance the seal oil which was to be kept in tanks after having been melted and refined at the emporium. It is true that capital would be required for these establishments; but not much, as the buildings found at the settlements, which were to be given up, could be pulled down and the material taken to the emporium to be used there. When the reorganization had been carried into effect, the costs on trade and navigation would naturally be considerably reduced.

Also this proposal was only partially carried out; Egedesminde was made the emporium for the whole of Disko Bay, without, however, quite abandoning the settlements situated there; but the arrangement proved not to answer to expectations entertained, and was given up after a few years.

We now arrive at the *separation of trade and administration*, so long proclaimed and discussed by all Greenland commissions. The Act of May 27th, 1908, expressly distinguishes between “the administration of the settlements in Greenland” and the Royal Greenland Trade. The former was—with the exception of church and schools—subjected to the Ministry of the Interior, and the west coast of Greenland, from the point of view of administration, was divided into two provinces, North and South Greenland, as well as into districts and municipalities. At the head of the

administration was placed an administrative director residing in Copenhagen, but under obligation to make voyages of inspection to Greenland. His field of activity was made to comprise all affairs which do not directly come under the commercial director; moreover, he was bound, when called upon by the Ministry, to give his opinion on matters relating to the general direction of the trading company and especially its activity in Greenland. The administrative director comes directly under the Minister and reports to him, in so far as the matters in question are outside his own decision.

For each province in Greenland there is an inspector, appointed by the King, as the representative of the Danish Government. He is to be regarded as the general authority of the country, chief of police, curator of intestate estates, notary and controller of sanitary conditions; he also, on behalf of the Government, supervises the municipal boards.

The old boards of guardians were abolished, being replaced by district councils, which exclusively consisted of natives, although the Minister of the Interior had the authority, whenever occasion required, to appoint Danes as members of these councils. The district council sees to the maintenance of public order, and, first and foremost, administers the district funds, which must defray partly the necessary costs for relieving people who are unable to provide for themselves, and partly the carrying out of tasks for the common benefit of those belonging to the municipality. The remainder of the yearly income of the district funds was now as formerly distributed among the breadwinners—the repartition.

For every province there was a provincial council, consisting of natives elected amongst themselves; under the presidency of the inspector these councils were to assemble every year to discuss common matters. The discussions of the provincial councils were published in the Greenland monthlies which the Government had intended for that purpose.

The various funds, *viz.* the municipal funds, the common funds of the two provinces and the Greenlanders' common funds were procured in the usual way, by means of a yearly duty paid by the Royal Greenland Trading Company on behalf of the Greenland population; to this was now, as a new departure, added two per cent of the salaries of all natives holding permanent positions, and this two per cent was paid, not by the persons in question, but by the institutions—administration, trade, church and school—to which they belonged.

For the direction of the trading department the Ministry of the Interior appointed a commercially trained director who was under obligation to study conditions in Greenland and to put before the Minister of the Interior a plan for the future settlement, both of the affairs of the Royal Greenland Trading Company in Copenhagen, their trade operations in Greenland and the navigation of that country; this should be done

within a period of five years and in collaboration with the administrative director.

As it appears, the law had already made restrictions regarding the activity of the commercial manager, and it was evident that it was not considered expedient to give him too free a hand. This appeared still more clearly, when the new act was to be carried into practice. The separation between trade and administration was made known in Greenland by means of bills put up in the shops, and these bills were couched in terms which, very sharply, emphasized the limits to the authority of the commercial director—it sounded, a Greenlander said, like an angry man speaking. And, at any rate, there was no doubt that those who represented the administration of Greenland managed to parcel out the act into a number of regulations. Thus they clearly indicated that it was by no means their intention to alter the *ruling* principle hitherto followed, except in the Rink period, which was characterized by a distinct feeling that the Europeans had a *cultural mission* towards the Greenlanders. In so far as the Act of 1908 was a result of the discussions of the commission appointed in 1906, there is no doubt that the point of these discussions was that everything relating to the trade should be made subject to the commercial department. But, this was frustrated by parcelling out the law into regulations, and the administration continued to rule on all points.

It is evident that this was an untenable position, for under these circumstances there was no opening for initiative and freer movements on the part of a commercial director. But for that matter it did not last long, not even the five years stipulated by the law, before the arrangement was once more changed. By the Act of June 8th, 1912, relating to the *common administration of the affairs of Greenland*, both trade and administration in Greenland, as well as the Greenland church and school, were subjected to a director who, in his turn, came under the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs, and thus would be the immediate superior both of the inspectors and the archdeacon or archdeacons who held appointment in Greenland. The separation of trade and administration which had found its visible expression in the appointment of an administrative director and an independent commercial director was given up; under the new arrangement the task of the commercial director merely became to see to the purchase of merchandise and the sale of products and to act as a sort of commercial adviser to the director, but he had no authority whatever regarding trading operations in Greenland.

It is on this principle that Greenland has been governed until the present day, and it cannot be denied that it has had certain advantages. Thus the common administrative director has succeeded in multiplying the

royalty paid by the Cryolite Mining Company at Ivigtut, so that it has been possible to do away with the deficit in the Greenland accounts and changing it into a surplus. Several reforms have been introduced during the period of the common administration; thus Greenland has been supplied with physicians and hospitals, to an extent hitherto unknown, and Rink's old plan for the training in Denmark of young natives, both men and women, has been taken up on a far greater scale than he ever dreamt of, and a much larger "Home for Greenlanders" has risen out of the ruins of the former one. New resources have been thrown open to the native population,



Outpost at Kangätsiaq in the Egedesminde District. (M. P. Persild phot.).

for instance greatly extended fisheries and means to dispose of their catch at reasonable prices; fishing stations and canneries have been established in the Holsteinsborg, Sukkertoppen, Godthaab, Frederikshaab and Julianehaab districts. The fisheries have procured a considerably increased income for great parts of the population, and must now be said to be the chief trade in South Greenland, the fish purchased for export in 1927—28 totalling 4.400.000 kg. At several of the stations Danish fishing experts have been appointed with the view of organizing and conducting the fishing operations. In some localities fishing is carried on by means of motor vessels with appertaining dories, as in the fisheries on the Newfoundland banks. In other places sea-going motor boats are used; several of these are owned by the natives and worked with great profit. The cleaning and preparation of the fish in most localities takes place ashore.

thus providing a seasonal income for the women of the dwelling place. Moreover, a large experimental station for sheep farming has been established near the Julianehaab settlement, which has succeeded beyond all expectations, and has already given employment to many sealers' families. Neither can it be denied that the population of Greenland has made progress during the period of the common administration; a better understanding of money and economics is beginning to make itself felt, hygienic conditions have improved and also housebuilding and housekeeping all over the country. At most of the settlements the familiar Greenland huts of turf and stone have been replaced by neat wooden houses, many of which are comparatively large with several living rooms and a kitchen; also the so-called Danish-Greenlandic houses, with walls of turf and an upright roof, are becoming more and more common at the outposts and even at the more isolated dwelling places. The picture of poverty formerly presented by a Greenland village is now, generally speaking, greatly modified, and the change becomes more and more pronounced every year, as loans for the building of houses are largely granted from the public funds. And in the difficult years of the Great War, the common administration showed great efficiency by maintaining the regular navigation of the country and keeping it supplied with all necessities.

On the other hand, a government which gathers all threads in their own hands cannot be satisfactory on all points, nor can it be the final standard for the direction of affairs in Greenland and the development and future of the people. This has already made itself felt in various ways. In the Act of 1908, as well as in that of 1912 relating to a common administration, a time had been fixed within which all Greenland affairs should be taken up for discussion by a commission which was mainly to consist of men who were doing active service in Greenland. This commission met in Copenhagen, in 1920—21, and indeed it was the first commission of its kind in which native officials were included. But this cannot hide the fact that neither the people of Greenland nor the Danes holding employment there were given the opportunity of choosing their representatives.

The commission of 1920 took up practically *all* subjects relating to Greenland and the native population for thorough discussion. As regards the main problem, *viz.* monopoly or free trade, the solution was, however, not brought one step further. All were agreed that the monopoly could not be abolished for the time being, while on the other hand there was a practical agreement that this abolition was the final aim of all efforts. But regarding the intensity of these efforts and the time for the introduction of freer trading conditions, it was impossible to come to an agreement, and so the main problem still remains unsolved. There is, however, no doubt that it *must* be solved. As a child must some time learn to walk by itself, thus a people—even one of Eskimo origin—must also reach the

same stage, and, all the more, as the population of Greenland is so inter-mixed with Europeans that it is now certainly more European than Eskimo. Also external causes seem to point towards the necessity of setting a more rapid pace in the development away from the monopoly. In this respect we may point to the international communication which is far more lively than in former times, to the awakening of national feeling among the Greenlanders, to the loudly expressed claims on the part of other countries to obtain access to Greenland waters and harbours, and to the fact that the continued maintenance of the monopoly trade is the chief obstacle in the way of the cultural and economic development of Greenland, and that which more than anything else endangers its solidarity with Denmark etc. But in that respect, not much has been done except that the rates fixed for imported commodities and exported products have been modified so as to be a little more in agreement with those of the open market than before.

As further issues of the discussions of the commission may be mentioned: *that* the administration has again started whaling in the Greenland waters with satisfactory results; *that* the Greenland schools have been organized on a new basis with the Danish language as part of the curriculum in the children's schools; *that* new regulations have been prepared for the extent of the power and activity of the municipal and provincial councils, a kind of new "constitution;" *that* Danes can be elected for the councils, and *that* councils consisting both of Danes and Europeans and comprising the whole settlement have been introduced, or in other words, a new adoption of Rink's boards of guardians.

In the course of the discussions the wish has often been expressed for a permanent commission, like the one which Rink, after much struggle, had succeeded in getting together in 1877, in order that all important questions relating to Greenland might be made the subject of thorough and impartial expert discussion before any decision was taken. The wish now sprang from a feeling of the unsatisfactoriness of a government so one-sided as the one introduced by the Act of 1912, but, plausible as it might seem, it was nevertheless not fulfilled. All that was done was to appoint a *political* commission to control the administration of Greenland and consisting of members of Parliament, who could not *a priori* be expected to have any knowledge of or insight into conditions in Greenland.

In conclusion it has been thought expedient to give a short summary of various facts connected with the trade on Greenland, the methods adopted etc. Some of these facts have already been mentioned *passim* in "The Trade and Administration" and "The History of the Trade", but

they will be repeated here, to complete and substantiate the foregoing statements.

Within more recent historical times or rather since the arrival of Hans Egede, the trade on Greenland has been carried on as a monopoly trade, either by private individuals or by the State. The object of maintaining trading communications was, in the first place, to support the mission, but at the same time it was evident that the King tried to limit his risk by transferring the monopoly to some private individuals or joint-stock companies, and only when private enterprise had failed, owing to the unsatisfactory state of trade, the State in 1774 undertook the full risk. Since then the Greenland trade has been a State monopoly, at first with varying profit and, during the wars about the beginning of the 19th century, under very depressed conditions and at a great loss, but afterwards in such a manner as to correspond well enough with the current idea of monopoly trade, *viz.* a business which, by excluding all competition, yields a good profit.

This developed into a positive demand on the part of the State, and as soon as there was a tendency to the profits decreasing, commissions were appointed to take up the matter and to consider the possibilities of further advance. In other words, the trade of Greenland had become an asset which the State reckoned with and on which it put certain claims, and as long as this view was maintained, the Danish State could not, with any justice, pretend to be considered unselfish in its relation to Greenland. It was not until considerably later, at the beginning of this century, that a more disinterested attitude was consciously adopted.

The surplus derived from the trade throughout the greater part of the 19th century did not cause any improvement to be made in the circumstances of the population. The prices paid for native produce were still kept at a low level, on the plea that if the Greenlanders, being very improvident, were given better prices it would lead to their disposing of their national products, *viz.* blubber and skins, in greater quantities than they could well spare in their households, and so they would be ruined.

Even if there might be some justice in this view, it was tantamount to excluding *a priori* the possibility of teaching the population to understand the value of capital. It was a frequent complaint — made, for instance, in very strong terms by Rink — that the Greenlanders were badly clothed and miserably housed, but it was not realized that the most natural remedy might be to give them better prices for their products so as to enable them to have better clothing, larger and better houses, hunting implements etc. which, in its turn, would naturally increase their productivity. These considerations have only come to the front in recent years, and already the inevitable results have appeared, as it were, automatically.

In former times the oils from seal and whale blubber as well as shark liver were, in the main, extracted in Greenland, each settlement having its own oil manufactory where the extracted and purified product was packed in barrels and casks, the staves for which had been sent up to Greenland and there put together by native coopers. The product was then sent to Copenhagen where it was subjected to further refinement, mixed in stated proportions and then sold in three different standard qualities, "Kompagni" oil, *viz.* brown and light brown oil and "Trekroner" oil, the latter being a mixture of brown seal oil and shark liver oil. With the progress of shark fishing in Greenland, the production of shark liver oil also increased beyond what was necessary for the production of "Trekroner" oil, and so "shark oil" became a fourth quality, which however never obtained the same price as the mixed seal oil. Some years ago the treatment of the oil produced underwent a complete change by the founding of a seal and whale oil manufactory on the Copenhagen premises of the Royal Greenland Trading Company. By far the greater part of the blubber and liver produced and purchased in a fresh state in Greenland is now salted on the spot and shipped for further treatment at the Copenhagen manufactory, and only that which does not arrive at the place of shipment in a perfectly fresh state is treated in the old manner and sent home as oil. As to the blubber and liver treated at the Copenhagen manufactory, experiments have been carried on to use the finished product for various purposes, as for instance in the production of margarine, but the whole of this industry is at the present time in rather an experimental stage, although there are good prospects of procuring, by this means, an increased income for Greenland.

The skins purchased in Greenland are chiefly seal- and foxskins (blue and white) and polar bear skins, and especially the two latter kinds are already assorted when purchased, and paid for according to their class. After they have arrived in Copenhagen, they are sorted once more and, together with the sealskins, they are then sold at an auction to which buyers come from various parts of Europe. The oil which in former times was also sold at public auctions is now practically always sold privately, as this has proved to procure better prices. The eiderdown which is sent to Copenhagen exactly as taken from the nest, and which must therefore be subjected to a careful cleansing process, is sold at auctions as well as privately, and this also applies to birdskin rugs. The salted fish, the production of which is rapidly increasing, is sold directly on arrival in Copenhagen.

As mentioned in "The Trade and Administration", the trading intercourse with the natives takes place, partly at the larger settlements or "colonies", and partly at a number of outposts belonging to the settle-

ments (from two or three to eight or ten per settlement). In former times, there was a good deal of opposition against founding new outposts, as it was proved by experience that the longer the distance to the shops, the more rarely did the natives come to suffer want; whereas those who had easy access to trading were apt to dispose of all they could possibly spare at the moment, or even more, in order to be able to indulge in European merchandise, particularly coffee and tobacco. This was, however, gradually modified, partly because the population itself demanded easier access to supply themselves with European commodities, and partly because it was realized that the said unfavorable state of affairs would probably undergo a change on its own accord, when access became open to all, and this has also proved to be the case.

Apart from a few isolated dwelling places far from all trading posts, where there are emergency depots of the most necessary commodities, the Greenlanders at the present time, hardly anywhere, live so far from a shop that the journey takes more than from morning till night — even in midwinter. The number of people dependent upon an outpost varies very much. It averages about 200; but there are outposts whose regular customers number about 100 only, while on the other hand there are some which have as many as 800, or more than most settlements. Some of these outposts are mainly kept up because of seasonal considerations, for instance, that the population of more remote regions assemble in the neighbourhood at certain seasons for hunting or fishing, or are in the habit of passing there on their yearly voyages. In the month of June people are living in tents on practically all the islands of Sydost Bay, the innermost corner of Disko Bay, which greatly increases the yearly production of the outposts Ikamiut and Akugdilit. In the same manner Isortoq, the most northerly outpost of the Holsteinsborg District, profits by the visits of hundreds of natives from North and South Greenland; in the course of the summer they assemble on the islands off North Ström Fiord for halibut fishing and reindeer hunting, as has been their habit from the time before the colonization.

The navigation of Greenland derives its special character from the ice conditions in Davis Strait. The Greenland ice or the so-called "Storis" which comes drifting from the Polar Basin along the east coast of Greenland and round Cape Farewell, blocks the coast in the Julianehaab and parts of the Frederikshaab, at times even in the Godthaab and Sukkertoppen districts, and this takes place throughout the spring and in unfavorable ice years even during part of the summer, thus blocking or, at any rate impeding access, to the harbours. The navigation plan must therefore always be laid accordingly and sometimes cannot be carried out because the sheet of ice is more extensive or breaks up later than usual. Farther north Davis Strait and Baffin Bay are blocked in spring by the so-called

west ice which comes down from Melville Bay. Moreover, Davis Strait at all seasons is packed with larger and smaller icebergs which in summer give rise to the formation of fogs, frequently covering large areas and of very long duration.

The necessary results of all this is that the vessels employed in the navigation of Greenland must be of especially strong construction, and also that the transition from sailing to steam and motor vessels was only made after long deliberations. However, it has been proved that the risk connected with navigation under the altered conditions does not seem greater than formerly, and this, as well as the general safety of the Greenland navigation, is beyond doubt due to the practice and ability which has always distinguished the navigators of the trading company. Navigation in the Arctic is largely a matter of feeling. The navigator in these parts must naturally have the same general training as required in any other trade, but, in addition, he must be especially trained to observe the phenomena of the weather, the wind and the water, and to act with resourcefulness and expedition. The falling temperature of the water informs him that ice is near; the colour of the sky shows him where there is open water; the atmosphere and the outlines of the mountains tell him where to seek harbour, and if the fog comes on, he must know how to feel his way by means of the steam whistle and the sound of the echo thrown back by the icebergs. The officers of the Royal Greenland Trading Company must know how to do to all this, and it is owing to their ability and long practice that the navigation of Greenland has been carried through with incredibly few losses in spite of the many difficulties. Thus, it may be mentioned that in the period 1870—98 with 457 voyages only two vessels were lost.

As soon as a vessel is sighted, the Greenlanders immediately paddle out to it in their kayaks. In former times it was a matter of great importance to get there at once, as the first comer was taken onboard and received pilot money. Therefore, a Greenlander did not hesitate to go far out from the shore, however heavy the sea. The steamers also, as a rule, use these native pilots, who know every course, every skerry, and everything relating to depths and conditions at the bottom of the sea round their own dwelling place. Now it is generally one of the permanent employés of the settlement who does duty as a pilot and navigates the vessel into port. The Greenland harbours are all natural ports, being almost everywhere quite safe and well protected. The vessels are in the habit of anchoring at some distance from the shore and to make fast by means of one or two hawsers, which are carried ashore in various places and attached to ringbolts fixed in the rocks. At the time when Egedesminde was used as an emporium, it was provided with a pier; but otherwise

loading and unloading everywhere takes place by means of barges which are most frequently towed backwards and forwards by motor boats.

When a vessel arrives at a Greenland settlement, it is "shiptime". In former days this was something like market time, and the population crowded from far and near to lend a hand at loading and unloading, to look at the newly arrived merchandise, to trade in the shop, to offer home-made objects to the sailors and travelling Europeans and — last but not least — to take part in the life and bustle there, when work was finished and the sailors came ashore. The picture presented by the settlements at such seasons was extremely gay, but all this is now somewhat changed by the more forced rate of speed necessitated by the steamers. The loading and unloading of vessels takes place under far greater pressure than before, so that very little time is left for bartering or festivities. Thus, the attraction of "shiptime" is very largely a thing of the past, and so also the undoubted importance of these meetings between Danes and Greenlanders towards the progress of civilization in Greenland.

The imports to Greenland have risen very considerably within the last decades. Thus the number of vessels sent out by the Royal Greenland Trading Company was

in 1870	11	with	2400	tons	of	goods
- 1880	11	-	2500			—
- 1890	11	-	2700			—
- 1900	12	-	3000			—
- 1910	15	-	5000			—
- 1920	13	-	6000			—
- 1926	14	-	7000			—

The passengers and mail traffic has risen in a still higher degree. The mail to Greenland totalled

in 1910	about	6350	letters	and	2150	post	parcels
- 1915	-	7600	-	-	2600		—
- 1925	-	11350	-	-	3350		—

while the mail from Greenland totalled

in 1915	about	7200	letters	and	700	post	parcels
- 1925	-	10450	-	-	1000		—

The amount of goods sold to the Greenlanders has increased very considerably, as appears from the following table of the average yearly imports of several of the principal commodities:

	1883—87	1903—07	1927
Groats	53,000 kg	68,000 kg	100,750 kg
Ship's biscuits	66,250 -	133,500 -	107,881 -
Coarse rye flour . .	115,000 -	235,000 -	560,400 -
Rice	17,500 -	47,000 -	51,486 -
Sugar	36,000 -	71,000 -	230,929 -
Coffee	33,000 -	33,000 -	48,840 -
Tea	220 -	650 -	3,425 -
Tobacco	7,500 -	19,000 -	18,584 -
Shirtings etc.	about 27.500 metres	about 35.000 metres	about 45.000 metres
Boards	545 dozen	997 dozen	2,532 dozen

In conclusion a list of the native products which were purchased (chiefly for export) in Greenland during the financial year of 1927—28:

750.000 kg blubber
 880.000 - liver
 150 bearskins
 2.072 foxskins, blue
 1.679 — , white
 8.000 sealskins
 265 kg walrus hides
 55 hides of white whales
 15.700 shark-skins
 500 eiderugs
 235 kg eiderdown
 11.750 kg bird feathers
 2.600 - baleen
 165 - narwhale and walrus tusks
 4.400.000 - fish (of various kinds)

In addition, the whaling operations of the Royal Greenland Trading Company in the same year produced 305.000 kg blubber, and the total value obtained from the sale of native products in Copenhagen was 2.300.000 kroner.

All that has been said in the foregoing, it is true, refers to Greenland in the past, but the measures taken and the movements already begun all point towards a more or less distant future and must stand their test in the Greenland of to-day. For when all is said and done it cannot be denied that Greenland is moving with the times and has now, for good or evil, come under modern conditions. In 1925 the last of the old sailing barks was withdrawn from the schedule of navigation, and is now lying in the Navy dockyards. The country is navigated by steam or motor

vessels, which arrive and are dispatched at a rapid pace — so unlike the olden days, when people were allowed ample time to recuperate in the safe ports after the many days at sea and the frequently severe hardships of the passage. Now voyages to Greenland are made, not merely within the short summer season, but also in winter — from March to December. The first aeroplanes have appeared above the huge wastes, causing wide-eyed wonder to many natives. Wireless masts have been raised on the virgin peaks of Greenland, and from there the waves of sound spread north and south, so that practically everywhere the residents of that far-off country are able to choose their own Sunday sermon from Reykjavik, from Copenhagen or from New York, to set their watch by the time signal from Paris, and at night — if they so choose — to move across the floor in gentle rhythm to the music of the latest Jazz tunes.

A new time is dawning for Greenland and her people. What it holds in store for the Greenlanders, and how they will be able to adapt themselves to the development—these are the great questions which the future alone can answer.

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THE NAVIGATION OF GREENLAND

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From the discovery of Greenland to our days, the navigation of this country has been largely based upon oral tradition, handed down from generation to generation. At the same time, from an early period, attempts have been made to lighten the difficult task of the Greenland navigators by written sailing directions.

These sailing directions, however, until a period not very far removed from our times, have lacked the necessary support of fairly accurate charts, not merely sea charts, for even now such only are at hand for a very few localities, but ordinary geographical maps. Thus the Greenland sailing directions, as compared with those of other parts of the world, are in many respects rather primitive, being based upon the experience made by the practical navigator in the course of the voyage. Not until well into the 19th century were expeditions sent out with the special object of undertaking surveys and chartings with a view to facilitate navigation, and it is only during the last fifty years that marine surveys, in the proper sense of the word, followed.

Still, in spite of all this it has proved possible to carry on the navigation of Greenland with comparative safety, so that the vessels of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, from 1781 to 1922, made more than a thousand voyages of which only nineteen are recorded as not completed, either on account of shipwreck or serious damage. This is partly owing to the traditional care and caution with which the navigation was undertaken, and partly to the fact that "time" was not so decisive a factor in the navigation of Greenland as elsewhere.

The history of the navigation of Greenland, particularly in its earlier part, largely coincides with that of the voyages of discovery, and may be divided into the following parts:

A. *The oldest period* from 982 to about 1410, comprising the discovery of Greenland and the first period of colonization.

B. *The period of the rediscovery* from 1576 to 1721, comprising the English rediscovery of Greenland and the ensuing English, Danish and Dutch voyages of exploration and whaling expeditions.

C. *The period of the Danish colonization* from 1721 to our days, comprising the regular Danish navigation, the Dutch navigation until the end of the 18th century, and the English and subsequently the American navigation up to the beginning of the 20th century.

We do not, however, possess full knowledge of the methods of navigation within the various periods; and this more particularly holds good relative to the flourishing period of the first colonization, when navigation must be supposed to have been fairly regular; and when there is consequently every reason to believe that there must have been fuller sailing directions than those known from the old Icelandic and Norwegian writings. It may further be inferred that the English expeditions at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century furnished sailing directions which were not known in Denmark.

Before dealing with the methods of navigation during the various periods a brief summary must be given of currents and ice conditions in the Greenland waters.

CURRENTS.

The Polar Current proceeds from the Arctic Sea east of Greenland, runs southward along the east coast, turns round Cape Farewell and runs into the Davis Strait along the south-west coast of Greenland, until in lat. 64° N. a large part of it swerves towards the west. The average speed of the current is from 10 to 20 miles per twenty-four hours along the east coast and between Cape Farewell and about lat. 61° N., along the west coast, then decreasing to about 4 miles per twenty-four hours. In Davis Strait the current is rarely traced farther out to sea than about 40 miles from the shore, and carries along with it Arctic ice as well as icebergs.

In the western part of Davis Strait a cold current runs southwards and carries the ice masses of Baffin Bay and the icebergs of North Greenland, past Labrador and Newfoundland. This current is known by the name of the Labrador Current. Finally, there is in the summer, in Davis Strait, off Middle and North Greenland, a westward current, due to the melting of the inland ice.

Besides these main currents there are varying surface currents, dependent upon tides and winds.

It may be supposed that the character of the currents and also of the ice conditions has been very nearly the same from the discovery of Greenland up to our times. As to further data regarding currents the reader is referred to the chapter dealing with the Greenland waters in vol. I, page 185.

ICE CONDITIONS.

Two different kinds of ice are met with in the Greenland waters: snow or fresh water ice, most frequently appearing in the form of icebergs, and salt water ice appearing as floe or pack-ice.

The *icebergs* originate from the inland ice of Greenland and may be met with in very considerable dimensions up to heights of 100 metres above the level of the sea, and as only one-eighth of their volume is above water, they can take ground at very great depths. They are, in their drift, more dependent upon currents, particularly submarine currents, than upon winds. Icebergs therefore can drift against the wind, whereas the less deep-going floe and pack-ice follows winds and surface currents to a larger extent.

Icebergs may be met with anywhere in the Greenland waters, but whereas on the east coast (particularly between Iceland and Greenland) they are only exceptionally met with outside the area of the Arctic ice and the East-Greenland Polar Current, this is by no means the case west of Greenland, where they chiefly occur in two distinct areas, one in the south which principally comprises icebergs from southern and eastern Greenland and extends from Cape Farewell to lat. 64° — 65° N., and the other in the north from lat. 67° N. and northward containing North Greenland icebergs. Between about lat. 65° and 67° N. the coast water is comparatively free from icebergs, but sometimes the number of icebergs found in these two areas is so great—they may be counted in thousands at the same time—that all navigation is closed. This is more particularly the case in the early summer in Disko Bay and in a few other North Greenland coast waters. As a rule navigation is only hindered by the icebergs in very cloudy weather.

Floe and *pack-ice* may, like icebergs, be met with anywhere in the Greenland waters, the former as land ice and drift-ice, partly of Polar, partly of local origin,¹ the latter generally only as drift-ice. It is in these two forms that the ice frequently impedes the navigation of Greenland; its occurrence along the west coast is rather different from that along the east coast.

Off East Greenland the ice belt is to be found during the greater part of the year. Northward of about lat. 67° — 68° N. it is of very large extent, so extensive that the waters between Spitzbergen and Greenland are practically always blocked with ice, and the ice limit in more southern parts is often even met with east of Jan Mayen and the most easterly longitude of Iceland. The extent of the ice belt varies greatly according to the prevailing winds, eastern winds crushing the ice against the coast of East Greenland, while winds from north to west scatter it towards the east. The floes at the edge of the ice are rather small, but farther in they appear as enormous ice fields, many miles in extent and frequently with high hummocks.

¹) See vol. I, pp. 191 and 207.

Between about lat. 73° and 75° N., in the so-called North Bay, the ice limit trends somewhat farther west, and the ice is rather more scattered than farther south and north; as early as June it is possible to find ice passable right up to the shore where the land-ice along the coast may at the same time have broken up south of about lat. 75° N.

In about lat. 70° N. off Scoresby Sound there is also, though not until the end of July and August, a prospect of finding the ice belt navigable; but it is not to be expected that the winter ice in the extensive fiord systems should break up until the beginning of August.

Between lat. 70° and 66° — 67° N. the ice belt is impenetrable nearly all the year round.

South of about lat. 67° N. the belt narrows considerably, and at Cape Dan, where the coast bears away in a western direction, the ice is frequently so scattered that the settlement of Angmagssalik is navigable during the latter part of August, and from August it may either be entirely free from ice or with only a narrow ice belt along the coast, all the way down to Cape Farewell. In November the ice appears once more, and from then until the following autumn the south part of the east coast is blocked by a belt of ice up to 40—50 miles in width.

The season for the formation of the local *new ice* and *winter ice* varies greatly according to weather conditions, but at any rate in September it must be reckoned to have begun.

In West Greenland the Arctic drift-ice is included under the two terms: "*Storis*" and *west-ice*.

The "*Storis*" is the drift ice which by the East Greenland Polar Current is carried past Cape Farewell into Davis Strait. Through packing, the influence of the sea and weather conditions, etc., this ice frequently assumes fantastic shapes, and it appears at one time as flat ice fields, and then again as heavy pack-ice in greater or smaller floes.

Owing to the great influence exercised by the wind on the drift of the "*Storis*," the occurrence of the ice along the south coast of West Greenland becomes irregular.

It is, however, possible to establish the following main rules:

The first "*Storis*" of the year passes Cape Farewell in January—February, but the north-westerly gales, so frequent at that time of the year, carry it out to sea, never to return. When, by exception, the weather is calm, or southerly winds prevail, the ice, on the other hand, drifts up along the shore, and the entrances to the settlement of Julianehaab may then be blocked up one or two weeks after the ice has passed Cape Farewell.

As a rule, however, only the ice masses appearing at a later period drift unchecked in a north-westerly direction, and so Julianehaab rarely becomes shut in by the ice until April. The ice drift now continues until August—September, and during this period the ice is present in fairly large quantities.

When in its northward drift it meets the prominent island of Nunarssuit, it is forced to follow an almost westerly course, which again, after the south-western point of the island has been passed, changes back to north-west or north-northwest.

By these changes in the direction of the current and by the large masses of ice which, with southerly winds, are bound up by Nunarssuit in the northern part of Julianehaab Bay, large openings frequently appear in the ice belt off Nunarssuit, so that it becomes easy for navigation in this place. Thus, the navigation of Arsuk Fiord with the cryolite mine of Ivigtût, situated close to the north of Nunarssuit, is comparatively easy, whereas the direct navigation of Julianehaab Bay offers considerable difficulties during the whole of the "Storis" period.

Later on smaller ice fields may drift up along the coast, but the chief ice period is past.

The ice conditions of the more northerly part of South-west Greenland are similar to those of the southern regions; only the occurrence of the ice is upon the whole less pronounced, seeing that part of the "Storis" does not reach the coast water north of Nunarssuit, but drifts west and north-west into Davis Strait.

To sum up, it may be said that on the stretch from about lat. 58° to 64° N. "Storis" may be met with at any time, but as a general rule it is free from ice from September to February—March.

From April to the end of August and the beginning of September the coast from Cape Farewell to Nunarssuit is blocked, and from the latter island to lat. 63° — 65° N. it is sporadically visited by the "Storis."

The outer edge of the "Storis" is, in the longitude of Cape Farewell, frequently far out to sea, and exceptionally it may be met with as far down as lat. 56° — 57° N.

Westward of Cape Farewell the ice belt also frequently extends far out to sea, and its western limit is not infrequently 50—60 miles from the shore between the latitude of Cape Farewell and Nunarssuit, and in this latitude as far as about 100 miles from the shore, but then the ice hardly extends far northward. If the latter is the case, it generally lies farthest towards the west in lat. 62° — 63° N. and on midsummer days heavy drift-ice may then be encountered right across Davis Strait, as "Storis" and west-ice meet and drift together towards the south.

"Storis" may thus be met with far outside the Polar Current proper. The boundary between the cold surface water of the ice and the water outside it is at times so sharply defined and so close to the edge of the ice that one may find oneself in the midst of it before being warned by the thermometer, and so one never ought to feel secure in dark and thick weather, even though the surface temperature of the water is some degrees above zero. On the other hand, a sudden fall of temperature in the surface water need not suggest

the presence of ice, but may simply be due to the fact that one has got into the Polar Current.

In clear weather great masses of ice often, though not always, manifest themselves at a long distance by the so-called "iceblink," a low, sharply defined white reflection in the atmosphere above the ice, by means of which it is sometimes possible to form an idea of its extent.

As appears from the above, the "Storis" may put serious obstacles in the way of the navigation of South-west Greenland, seeing that it occurs in the greatest quantities at the very time of the year when, owing to the light and meteorological conditions, the navigation of Greenland must take place. Strongly built steamers, however, as a rule are able to sail regularly, though for fear of damage to the vessel and propeller it is sometimes found necessary to lengthen the voyage by circumnavigating the ice or by waiting for it to scatter. A dispersion of this kind may occur at any time, caused by conditions outside one's range of vision.

To enter closely packed "Storis," even for a powerful steamer, is a hopeless undertaking; if, on the other hand, the ice is evenly scattered with open channels, the chances of getting through are often fair. Attention ought to be directed towards the ice-foot which often projects from the submerged portions of the ice floes. The part of the ice belt bordering upon the open sea, *viz.* the edge of the ice, ought to be avoided if a gale blows against it, as the ship may otherwise be damaged; but as the ice, when floating freely, drifts more rapidly to leeward than a steamer or a fast sailer, it will as a rule not be difficult to keep clear of the edge of the ice.

West-ice is the term used in Greenland for the floe ice drifting from Baffin Bay and the surrounding waters southward into Davis Strait and farther down past Newfoundland. Like the "Storis" it consists of broken, but frequently closely packed sea ice, which follows the influence of current and wind, until it is dissolved by sun, rain, warm water, etc. In the winter, when north-westerly and westerly winds prevail in Arctic America, the west-ice is crushed against the winter ice off the coast of West Greenland, north of lat. 66° N., and here it remains until the spring and early summer. In the summer it is generally met with 40—60 miles from the coast of Middle Greenland, whereas farther north it lies closer to the shore.

The west-ice, as a rule, only impedes the navigation of Melville Bay and the Cape York District.

The *winter ice*, or the sea and fiord ice formed off the coasts of Greenland itself, is generally only of real importance in North Greenland. In the open waters it most frequently breaks up in April; in the inner sheltered waters not until well into the month of June. The winter ice may be met with as drift-ice out in Davis Strait until far into the summer; it is quite level and frequently consists of extensive fields, which should if possible be avoided.

Young ice may form at any time and any place, when weather conditions are favourable and the surface water is well cooled, particularly during snow-fall.

METHODS OF NAVIGATION IN THE VARIOUS PERIODS.

A. THE OLDEST PERIOD.

In the Old Icelandic records of the discovery of Greenland in 982 it is narrated that Erik the Red sailed from Snæfellsnes on Iceland to look for the country which had been sighted by Gunbjörn when driven by fierce storms westward from Iceland. Erik found the country and sailed along the coast towards the south in order to see whether it might be habitable when he proceeded farther.

He arrived at Erik Island in the eastern settlement and later went on to Erik Fiord, where he settled.

With our present knowledge of Greenland and its oldest habitation, this means that Erik bore off from Brede Fiord on Iceland westward into Denmark Strait, until he met the edge of the "Storis" belt off the east coast of Greenland; that he followed this edge towards the south-west, rounded Cape Farewell, and all the time following the edge of the ice sailed up into Julianehaab Bay and there found an entrance to that part of the country which for the following 400 years became the centre of Icelandic and Norwegian habitation and colonization.

The sailing directions given in this brief account were followed in the navigation of Greenland until its rediscovery by the English at the end of the 16th century, and apart from making the ice limit as far north as "west of Iceland" and making it instead south of Cape Farewell, these are really the sailing directions followed to this day by the steamers bound for Julianehaab.

The old Greenlanders, however, improved their sailing directions beyond these brief suggestions, for contemporaneous and later writings, such as the Icelandic *Landnamabók*, the Norwegian *Speculum Regale*, both from the 12th century, Olaf Tryggveson's Saga, Hauk's Book and others contain sailing directions which, on the strength of oral information given by navigators, indicate the principal courses and distances from Norway and Iceland to Greenland and thus, to a certain extent, compensate for the absence of charts. At the beginning of the 16th century these descriptions of courses were collected by Erik Walkendorf, Archbishop of Trondhjem, who intended to resume the communication which had ceased about a hundred years previously between Norway and the Icelandic-Norwegian colonies in Green-

land. This plan was, however, abandoned when Walkendorf was exiled, but the sailing directions collected by him on all essential points elucidate the Norwegian and Icelandic conception of the position of Greenland and the main lines followed in the navigation of the country.

The following are the chief directions:

1) *From the Icelandic Landnamabók and Olaf Tryggveson's Saga:* "So it is said by cunning men that from Norway from "Stad" there is seven days' sailing to "Horn" on the east coast of Iceland, but from Snæfellsnes where the distance is shortest to Greenland there is, across the sea, four days' sailing towards the west. Likewise it is said that when a man sets sail from Bergen to "Hvarf" on Greenland (one of the most south-westerly promontories, probably Kangeq on Sermersôq) then he must sail twelve miles (geographical) to the south of Iceland."

2) *In the Icelandic Hauk's Book* (an adaptation of the Landnamabók and about 100 years later than the latter) the following addition has been made to the directions given above: "Out of Hernum (on the south-west coast of Norway) a man must shape his course due west to Hvarf on Greenland; then he sails to the north of Hetland (Shetland), albeit in such wise that he can only do it when he has a clear view across the sea, but southward of the Faroes so that across the sea he sees but half the heights of the mountains, albeit in such wise southward of Iceland that its sea-fowl and whale fishes are seen."

3) *From Gripla* (an Icelandic writing of uncertain age, rendered in Björn Jónsson's Annals from about 1600): "From Bjarmeland (northernmost Russia) there are wilds right up to the land called by the name of Grönland. But there are bays before, and the country stretches towards the south-west; there are glaciers and fiords and islands are lying off the glaciers; to the one glacier no man can penetrate; to the second there is a half month's sailing; to the third a week's sailing; it is nearest the "bygd" (settlement); it is called Hvitserk; then the country turns towards the north, but he who will not miss the settlement should steer south-west."

4) *From Ivar Baardsøn's description* (old Norwegian-Greenlandic document from the 15th century): "From Snæfellsnes on Iceland, that is nearest Greenland two days and two nights sailing due westward, and there the Gunbiörn Skerries lie midway between Greenland and Iceland. This was old sailing, but now ice has come from land northward so near the said skerry that no man without danger of his life can sail the old way which hereafter is yielded up.

Item, they that will sail from Bergen by the right way to Greenland and not come to Iceland, they then shall sail due westward, until they come southwards of Iceland to Röchenes, and then they shall be twelve weeks to sea southward of the said Röchenes, and then with the said western way they shall come under the high land in Greenland called Hvarf; a day before the

said Hvarf is seen he shall see another high mount called Hvidserk: under the said twain rocks, the which are called Hvarf and Hvidserk, there lies a ness that is called Herjolfsnes, and thereby lies a harbour that is called Sand, a harbour oft sought by Norsemen and merchantmen. *Item*, if a man sail from Iceland, then he shall shape his course from Snæfellsnes, that lies twelve weeks by sea farther west on Iceland than the said Röchenes and then sail due west a day and a night and then head south-westward so as to flee the said ice that lies at Gudbiörn Skerries and then a day and a night due north-westward, and then he comes rightly under the said high land Hvarf in Greenland under the which lie the said Herjolfsnes and Sand."

These records, as is shown, contain essentially correct, though unpretentious directions how to find the south point of Greenland, to circumnavigate the Arctic ice at Cape Farewell and then when conditions permitted to penetrate the ice belt, to make for the land to the main settlement, the "Eysribygd," situated at Julianehaab Bay.

The "Vestribygd," the present Godthaab District, was not approached directly from the sea but along the shore, and the settlers are known to have penetrated so far north as the present Upernivik.

The information from Gripla (mentioned under 3), suggesting that Greenland is connected with Europe by wilds, does not correspond with actual conditions. It must, however, be admitted that the statements of the old writer are not entirely incorrect, as according to the ideas of that period the term "wilds" might well be applied to the enormous ice and land masses which, stretching across Novaja Zemlja, Spitzbergen and Greenland, form the southern boundaries of the Arctic Sea.

The Norwegians also reached Spitzbergen and East Greenland as is indicated by other sailing directions.

One cannot help admiring the manner in which the Norwegians were able to maintain a fairly regular communication with Greenland for several centuries, only by means of the sparse information given, all the more so when one bears in mind the following:

- 1) That the navigation of Greenland took place in partly open vessels, which were chiefly propelled by means of oars, though sails were also used when the wind was favourable;

- 2) that compasses, charts, nautical instruments and astronomical navigation were unknown;

- 3) that the Sun and the Polar Star took the place of the compass, that the distances covered were reckoned approximately, that the combination of directions and distances was done by heart, and that latitude and longitude were estimated by the altitude of the sun, measured in the most primitive manner, such as by the length of the day, the flight of birds and the colour and temperature of the sea. Finally, the Greenland ice itself was used as an aid to correct the estimates of longitudes.

The vessels used by the Norwegians and Icelanders for the navigation of Greenland were, however, not ordinary small coasting vessels; their size was not much less than the small sailing brigs used by the Danish-Greenland merchant navy until the early years of the 20th century, and the fact that it was possible to propel them by oars was naturally a great assistance, especially when they got into the drift-ice. That they did not always hesitate to enter the ice appears from the old sailing directions, but as the south-west coast of Greenland is generally free from ice, or at any rate accessible from the middle of August, it is to be supposed that navigation chiefly took place in the course of the late summer or early autumn. This is also suggested by a passage in the description before mentioned given by Ivar Baardsøn, *viz.* that there was a harbour, called Sand, at Herjolfsnes (Frederiksdal, about 20 miles north-west of Cape Farewell), and this harbour was generally used by Norwegians and merchantmen, as the sea at Cape Farewell was only exceptionally free from ice before the latter half of August.

The first important maps of the northern waters comprising Greenland did not, as is well known, appear until *after* the decay of the old Norse settlements; and, moreover, they were based on the old sailing directions. This refers to the map of the northern parts compiled by Claudius Clavus from 1424—1450, in which the approximate configuration of part of Greenland besides several data given are surprisingly reliable.

The Norse colonization and navigation of Greenland ceased at the beginning of the 15th century, and from 1410 to 1576 only one expedition (sent out by King Christian I) is known to have set foot in Greenland, although the Portuguese navigator Corte-Real, in the year 1500, is known to have been within sight of the coast of Greenland, and to have contributed largely to settle the correct position of the country in the maps of the world then in use.

B. THE PERIOD OF REDISCOVERY.

The rediscovery of Greenland by the Englishman, Martin Frobisher, in 1576—77 and his landing in 1578 on the west coast of the country inaugurated a new period in the history of the navigation of Greenland, which for about a hundred years had been left in its Arctic solitude, or at any rate had been merely seen, but not much heeded, by chance Basque whalers. Frobisher, however, did not realize that the country found by him was Greenland, presumably because, in his attempts to find a western sea route to India, he did not follow the old Norse sailing directions. He sailed by the Mercator maps of the Zeno brothers, which had appeared about twenty years before his voyage, but these contained so many corruptions of the actual statements of former maps that they must necessarily have been misleading to navigators.

King Frederik II of Denmark, on the other hand, must have suspected that it was the old Greenland which had been rediscovered, as he, in the course of the following years, sent out a couple of expeditions. These expeditions, however, did not follow the indications given in the old sailing directions, *viz.* that the ice off the east coast of Greenland should be avoided by heading towards the south-west; instead, they kept along the latter in order to attempt a landing on the east coast, and so they were obliged to return without having accomplished their purpose. It was an Englishman, John Davis, who made the greatest contribution towards the resumption of the navigation of Greenland by his voyages of discovery in 1585, 1586 and 1587 to the strait, called by his name, and the extensive west coast of Greenland—the “Land of Desolation” as he named it—from its southern point, which he called Cape Farewell, and as far as lat. 72° N. Still, he did not realize until his last journey that the country he navigated was identical with the old Greenland; but passing Iceland on this, his last voyage, he there received information which placed it beyond doubt that it was Greenland he had found and on which he had landed several times.

This is not the place to deal with the number of English, Danish and Dutch voyages of discovery, nor with the trading and whaling expeditions which in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century gradually established the approximate outline and position of Greenland on the east coast as far as lat. 73° N. and on the west coast as far as lat. 78°—80° N. By these voyages the Englishmen, Hall, Hudson and Baffin, the Danes, Lindennow, Jens Munk and David Danell, and the Dutchman, Joris Carolus and others, inscribed their names in the history of the exploration of Greenland; and it may be mentioned that the really valuable English, Danish and Dutch maps of Greenland, which were published in the 17th century, were founded upon their experiences and observations. In spite of their great inaccuracies—among them being the maintenance of Frobisher Strait as passing through the southern part of Greenland, and of its connection by land with the northern part of Russia—these maps not only supplied a solid basis, hitherto lacking, for the making of Greenland and the establishment, by the map, of the principal courses along its coasts, but also gave much detailed information and special charts, which gradually reduced the hitherto more or less casual and adventurous navigation of Greenland to more regular courses. Danish, Norwegian and Dutch whaling companies were started, and especially the Dutch threw themselves into the enterprise with such energy that the navigation and trade on the west coast of Greenland, or Straat Davis as it was then commonly called (the name of Greenland being generally applied to Novaja Zemlja, Spitzbergen and the most northerly part of the east coast of Greenland) at the beginning of the 18th century was almost exclusively carried on by the Dutch. One of the reasons why the Danish-Norwegian traders were outstripped by their Dutch com-

petitors was that the former still entertained the hope of finding once more the old Norse settlements in Greenland. As this hope had not been fulfilled in the course of the various expeditions to the west coast of Greenland, it was maintained that the settlements must be found on the east coast, although the old sailing directions, when correctly applied, pointed towards the west coast. Consequently, several attempts were made to penetrate to the east coast, but these attempts were bound to fail, because they were made during the lightest season, whereas the southern part of the east coast is only sometimes free from ice in August and September. However, the result of this divided interest was that the navigation of West Greenland, during this period, came to bear the impress of the Dutch; Dutch seamen were employed as teachers for the future navigators of Greenland and as masters of the Danish vessels; the latter were navigated according to Dutch charts, among which may be mentioned the charts of Joris Carolus and Feykes Haan, all of South Greenland and the Disko area. The first actual sailing directions and description of harbours were written by the Dutch captain, Lourens Feykes Haan, and called: "Beschryving van de Straat Davids, van de Zuydbay, tot om het Eyland Disko. Als meede van de Z. O. bogt tot door het Waygot, Amsterdam, by Gerard von Keulen, 1713." In this and other Dutch descriptions and charts of Greenland there naturally occur a number of Dutch names, some of which are found again in the most recent maps and sailing directions; and to this day many beacons and islands bear the names of "Dutch Beacon" or "Dutch Island".

The difference between the correct method of making land in Greenland according to the old Norse directions and those of the Dutch from the 17th century, properly speaking only consisted in the former recommending to make the ice limit at a more northerly point than the latter. For the old Norsemen with their exceedingly primitive methods of observation and instruments it came natural to use the edge of the ice as the most sure and quickest way of making land. For the navigators of later centuries the danger of missing the land was less than the risk of getting into too close touch with the ice off the south-east coast of Greenland; therefore, it was recommended to make a landfall, either of the country itself, or if prevented to do so by the ice, of the edge of the ice belt round Cape Farewell or Statenhuk, as the south point of Greenland was called by the Dutch. Ice conditions permitting, vessels went into harbour there or at Nanortalik in order to take in water, but experience soon taught navigators to avoid this dangerous place which, as a rule, was surrounded by ice; to make a wide curve around it and not to make land—until north of Frederikshaab Iceblink, generally at or north of Ball River—that excellent landing place found by Hall in 1605 at the mouth of the present Godthaab Fiord. From here and northward to the region south and east of Disko Bay lay, at suitable intervals, the Dutch harbours

and trading posts, all bearing Dutch names. The sailing directions and the descriptions of Feykes Haan are associated with the stretch of coast from Isortoq Fiord close to the north of the present Holsteinsborg to Disko and from there into the Sydost Bay and the Vaigat to Hare Island. The descriptions contain courses, distances and details relating to about twenty harbours, and all of these data are so reliable that they might, to this day, serve as a guide for the navigator of those parts, and that it has been possible to identify them in the new charts.

During the later years of this period the navigation of Straat Davis by whalers and traders was so active that these waters were yearly visited by about 70 Dutch and several Hamburg vessels.

C. THE DANISH COLONIZATION PERIOD.

When Hans Egede landed in Godthaab Fiord, in 1721, with the object of converting and enlightening the Greenlanders, the Norwegian and Danish trade and the earlier attempts at colonization made by the Norwegians had, as already described, been again abandoned owing to the competition of Dutch and Hamburg traders. This competition continued through the whole of the 18th century and then ceased, partly on account of the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars, and partly because the traffic suffered a very serious set-back in 1777, when a whole whaling fleet was wrecked in the ice off the east coast of Greenland. Several beacons erected at prominent points along this grim coast still bear testimony to this catastrophe. The Dutch as late as about the middle of the 18th century contributed to spread the knowledge of the navigation of Greenland, as appears, *inter alia*, from the charts of Greenland in "De Nieuwe groote lichtende Zee-Fakkel" (published about 1750 in Amsterdam by Johannes van Keulen) as well as from directions how to make Cape Farewell, the approach of the west coast, and the navigation of Baffin Bay.

These directions contain the following information:

"Whoever wishes to sail from the south-west point of Iceland to Davis Strait must shape his course west by south, well south, in order to be able to make the land within the promontory, which is sighted at a distance of 6—8 miles (geographical) from the shore; for then the ice becomes visible, and the ice being in sight the land also becomes visible. In this place the ice is always found all the year round— —consequently, when sighting the land and the ice within the promontory, one is to sail along this ice and to follow it, by which proceeding one is carried into the above-mentioned strait.

"According to the chart, the promontory of the strait is situated in lat.

59° 30' N. When south of the ice in about lat. 59° 25' N., sometimes somewhat farther south, sometimes somewhat farther north, the ice extends north-northwest like the coast of the strait, up to lat. 63° N.; from there the coast of New Greenland trends nearly due north up to lat. 77° 30', etc. —

“Cabo Farewell is the southernmost point of Greenland; it is mountain land, covered with snow and ice.

“Schjagefiord (one of the eastern fiords mentioned in the old Norse descriptions) has a skerry towards the sea, preventing vessels from entering unless the water is at high level.

“Still farther towards the west is Erickfiord (according to the old descriptions the principal fiord of the Østerbygd) at the entrance of which an island is situated with promontories on both sides, where vessels may lie well and sheltered.”

These remarks are obviously influenced by the old Norse descriptions of the “Eystribygd”, and also seem to be meant as instructions for those who want to make land in the neighbourhood of Cape Farewell, which method, as before mentioned, was abandoned as early as the former half of the century (see also below).

Hans Egede's arrival and stay in Greenland, as well as the extensive investigations made by him and by his son Poul Egede on their many journeys by boat along the west coast of Greenland, gradually established a more solid foundation for a Danish colonization and regular navigation of the country.

As is well known, Hans Egede still had great difficulties to surmount, and it was chiefly due to the energy of the Copenhagen merchant, Jacob Severin, that he finally succeeded in establishing the work on a regular basis. This, however, was not done without a fight with sharp weapons, for the Dutch did not feel inclined to respect the monopoly of the Greenland trade as decreed by the Danish Government. The navigation took place according to the same main principles as the navigation of sailing vessels in our days, as appears from the following extract from the log of the man-of-war frigate “Blaahejren” in 1737: “On the voyage to Greenland one is forced to make for Cape Farewell, and if one is so lucky as to get a landfall, then it is made clear by the kind of ice one meets, whether it is the east ice or the west ice which lies in the strait. If one is so fortunate as to sight the land at Staten Huck or Cape Farewell, then one should only make about 30 miles (geographical) towards the west in along the strait in order to get free of the ice lying off the land; then northwards until 63°, when an approach is made once more as close to the land as is at all possible, as in this way one becomes most free from ice and makes one's journey quickest all the way to Rifkol in about lat. 68° N.”

The Danish navigation of Greenland during the latter half of the 18th century thus became more and more regular, but no actual printed sailing

directions are known to have appeared in Denmark until 1825, when the Royal Hydrographic Office published "Beskrivelse til det voksende Situationskort over den vestlige Kyst af Grønland fra 68° 30' til 73° n. Br." by Lieutenant W. Graah, of the Royal Danish Navy. On the other hand, a number of Danish manuscript charts of varying value had made their appearance, including general as well as special maps of smaller sections of the west coast, and compiled by Bussæus, Olavsén, Arctander, Giesecke and others. The special charts particularly comprised Disko Bay, Godthaab Fiord and the Julianehaab "Skærgaard". These manuscript charts, in connection with oral and written traditions handed down from earlier navigators, and the information given by native sealers were in many respects of the greatest value. The captains received copies of these, and they served for a long period to make the navigation of Greenland, although slow, at any rate fairly safe, until Graah in his description and chart compiled the various data at hand, giving detailed and, considering the time of composition, extremely satisfactory directions for the navigation of Davis Strait and the West Greenland settlements from Egedesminde to Upernivik. In addition to Graah's directions, other information gradually appeared, originating from Scotch and English whalers, who in great numbers, after the discoveries of Baffin in the 17th, and especially of Ross at the beginning of the 19th century, navigated Melville Bay as far as Cape York and, later, the western part of Baffin Bay and its adjoining waters; English Arctic expeditions further contributed various sorts of information and, finally, during the latter half of the 19th century, a number of facts were compiled from Danish expeditions. Among the latter may be mentioned the information given by Falbe, Bluhme and Normann on the navigation of Arsuk Fiord and the cryolite mine of Ivigtût (1866), the surveys of Normann, Braëm and Wandel in Middle and North Greenland, and finally a number of excellent charts compiled under the auspices of the Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Investigations in Greenland during the last twenty years of the 19th century, and published by the Royal Hydrographic Office and the Greenland Trading Company. At last the material at hand was so considerable that it was possible to prepare new directions for the navigation of the colonies in West Greenland. This work was taken up by the present writer, who having been for several years a captain of vessels sailing in Greenland waters had greatly felt the need of a handbook of this kind. Consequently he gathered information from various sources, supplementing it with the results of his own investigations, more particularly the surveys undertaken—with the assistance of Lieut. C. Moltke of the Royal Danish Navy—of approaches and harbours in the Julianehaab "Skærgaard". He also included a number of notes from the same waters, carefully compiled by the late M. Bang, a captain in the Royal Greenland Trading Company, who for many years, in a sailing vessel, had navigated

Julianehaab, the most difficult of approach of all the Greenland settlements. These sailing directions were published in 1895 by the Royal Greenland Trading Company, richly furnished with pictures of the coast and plans of the harbours. It was universally accepted as of valuable aid towards the navigation of the harbours of West Greenland, and the inevitable imperfections soon drew the attention to the large field of labour which lay waiting to be cultivated. The work was continued, first by the present writer with the publication of his "Wind Chart of the Northernmost Part of the Atlantic" (1900), later on by Captain Borg, of the Royal Danish Navy, who in 1907—10 navigated the west coast and made investigations for the completion of the sailing directions, and again by frequent official reports on the corrections and completions of existing charts and directions which navigators, pilots and people acquainted with the localities considered desirable or necessary. At the same time the navigation of most of the harbours of the settlements was made easier by the distribution of distinct sea-marks and the presence of able pilots, so that the speed and accuracy of navigation, made possible by the use of steamers, can now be fully carried out. Where in former times sailing vessels might be forced to lie in the harbour of the "Skærgaard", awaiting the wind and ice conditions to make navigation possible, and were frequently obliged to make use of warping or towing by their own or Eskimo rowing boats, these steamers are now able to force their way quickly, as, besides the advantage of steam, they are provided with the necessary aids to navigation. Only when ice conditions are abnormal, speed and accuracy fail.

In conclusion, a rough statement will be given of the method followed at the present time in the navigation of Greenland, and more particularly of the Davis Strait, Baffin Bay and the principal harbours of West Greenland. As regards the navigation of East Greenland, especially of the stations at Scoresby Sound and Angmagssalik, the following brief additions may be given to what has already been said of ice conditions there.

SCORESBY SOUND.

When approaching from the east a landfall should be made of Jan Mayen. At the station situated there it is generally possible to get information of the position of the edge of the ice. According to the season it will probably be about the longitude of Jan Mayen or somewhat farther west. Only when ice conditions are extremely favourable—at the end of July and August—should an attempt be made to pass through the ice in the latitude of Scoresby Sound; otherwise, the edge of the ice should be followed in a northerly direction so that navigators may profit by the scattering which may be expected in North Bay between lat. 73° and 75° N.

Vessels should not attempt to penetrate farther north than 75° , but rather await the scattering of the ice, and it should be borne in mind that large holes or openings within the edge of the ice are indicated by a dark water sky. If easterly winds have prevailed, the ice will in all probability lie close to the shore, and there will be no landwater which is necessary for the southward passage; in this case vessels should, if possible, make for a sheltered anchorage.

Scoresby Sound, named after the famous Scottish whaler, William Scoresby, cannot be expected to be sufficiently free from winter ice to prove passable until the latter part of July or the beginning of August, but it is easily navigated, and in its interior part offers several sheltered anchorages.

The Danish settlement, founded in 1924, is situated at Amdrup Harbour in Rosenvinge Bay, just inside the south-eastern point of Jameson Land.

ANGMAGSSALIK.

If the navigation of Angmagssalik takes place in August there may, as already mentioned in the description of ice conditions, be a possibility of finding the sea south and west of Cape Dan entirely or partly free from ice. Unless this is the case, vessels should await an improvement of ice conditions, provided that there is no special reason for forcing a passage.

Already some distance off Cape Dan, in clear weather, it is possible to secure the assistance of a local pilot, as there is a native dwelling place in this locality.

The chief settlement is situated at a small cove in Tasiussaq Bay (King Oscar Harbour), on an island on the west side of the entrance to Angmagssalik Fiord; it has a small though secure anchorage, but vessels must be made fast by two anchors and hawsers to the shore.

CAPE FAREWELL—DAVIS STRAIT—BAFFIN BAY.

Vessels approaching Cape Farewell from the east ought, after having passed long. 30° W., reckon with the possibility of encountering icebergs, even though they are still the exception east of long. 40° W.; on the other hand, sea ice ("Storis") is rarely encountered east of the longitude of the cape, in any case when keeping south of lat. 59° . Vessels bound for Middle or North Greenland should keep still farther south, and only cross the latitude of Cape Farewell in about long. 50° W. Thus it becomes possible to penetrate right into Davis Strait without encountering ice, and this may be of great importance when it is a question of profiting by an otherwise favorable opportunity in thick or dark weather. On the other hand, vessels

bound for one of the harbours from Frederikshaab and southwards should, even at an early period, attempt to get into touch with the edge of the ice so as to be able to profit by possible chances of traversing the ice belt and, weather conditions permitting, to make the land or the ice at the longitude of Cape Farewell. The cape itself is low and not particularly conspicuous, but the country close to the north of it is high with beautiful, jagged mountains, 2000—2500 m in height, and visible at a distance of as far as lat. $58^{\circ}12'$ N.

Particularly during the winter and spring months the sea round Cape Farewell is extremely rough. The wind charts of the North Atlantic show that April on an average has 10 days with a velocity of between 7 and 12 (Beaufort) and a mean velocity of $5.3'$. The warm Atlantic current sweeping the south-west coast of Iceland on its way towards the north-east passes close by the Polar Current off Cape Farewell, and makes a commonly frequented highway for the temperature minima passing towards the north-east. The main direction of the winds is north-east. In the summer months wind conditions are considerably calmer, and as the southerly winds are neither particularly strong nor prevailing, there is no great chance of getting a lee of the ice belt at the time of the year when it attains its greatest width. In thick weather navigators ought to make frequent use of the thermometer, even though the surface temperature, as mentioned on p. 219, cannot be considered a sure guide.

As to the further passage through Davis Strait the course from the latitude of Cape Farewell and about long. 50° W. should be shaped about 80 miles round Cape Desolation on Nunarssuit and then along the shore northward to the latitude of the place for which they are bound. When arriving there vessels should head towards their destination, and if "Storis" is encountered in large quantities, it should be avoided towards the west, unless a particularly favourable opportunity offers for crossing it. This should more particularly be attempted, if conditions seem to suggest that the ice belt extends very far northward and westward, in which case the "Storis" may extend as far as the west ice.

By following the route thus indicated there is a possibility of avoiding the regions most closely packed with icebergs, as well as the "Storis" and west ice, until in about lat. 68° N. where icebergs always occur and where, during the spring and early summer, west ice and broken-off masses of winter ice from the North Greenland fiords may be encountered. In order, if possible, to avoid the west ice, vessels on their passage farther north should keep as close to the shore as permitted by the winter ice. In order to be able to pass Melville Bay, where the ice along the shore cannot be expected to break up until August, vessels bound for the Thule Station north of Smith Sound, should keep along the west edge of the coast ice and navigate in the open water, which from the middle of June can generally be counted

on between the latter and the ice masses of Baffin Bay, until reaching more ice-free waters in the neighbourhood of Cape York. It is, however, by no means every summer that one may reckon on being able to pass Melville Bay, with any degree of certainty. It happens that untoward winds keep the ice of Baffin Bay crushed so continuously against the firm coast ice that even steamers must abandon the passage.

JULIANEHAAB DISTRICT.

The southern and eastern part of the Julianehaab District with its wild and rugged landscape, filled with mountains and glaciers, is, when viewed from the sea, one of the most beautiful parts of West Greenland. In this confusion of mountain peaks it is difficult, at a distance, to find easily identified points to facilitate the fixing of the position of a vessel; when nearer the shore, however, it is fairly easy to identify the high, prominent and dentate island of Sermersok close to the north of the trading post Nanortalik. Towards the north the heights decrease, and the country assumes the appearance of an extensive "Skærgaard," consisting of large and small islands with a few outstanding mountains in the background. Towards the north-west one sees a peculiar yellowish glare, framed by large rounded mountains. This is the inland ice, spreading over the level shore land inside Nunarsuit Island, which farthest towards the north-west is visible, with its crested mountains, terminating to the west in Cape Desolation.

The main station of the district, the Julianehaab Settlement, is situated at one of the outer ramifications of Igaliko Fiord, generally called Julianehaab Fiord. Regular navigation of the settlement is impeded by the drift-ice, when such is present in considerable quantities in Julianehaab Bay (as to this see p. 218). Vessels bound for Julianehaab and encountering such difficult ice conditions in Julianehaab Bay that a direct, unimpeded entrance by one of the three fiords Julianehaab Fiord, Skov Fiord or Brede Fiord cannot take place must either: 1) head into the ice in order to attempt to pass through it, or 2) await improved conditions or bear northwards with a view to look for a chance to pass through it, or circumnavigate the whole mass of ice and head south between these and the shore.

The former alternative is only advisable in the case of powerful steamers, and when the mass of ice is so narrow, wind and weather conditions so favourable, and the ice so scattered that one may count on getting through without making a long stay in the ice. Unless this is the case, and unless a speedy improvement can be hoped for by waiting, vessels should head towards the north and attempt to force or circumnavigate the ice belt. It is frequently possible to pass through the ice off Arsuk Fiord, which vessels should then head for, and there a local pilot should be taken on board, with a view to

subsequently pass into the "Skærgaard" or between the ice and Nunarssuit as far as Julianehaab. A circumnavigation of the ice belt may carry vessels as far as the latitude of Frederikshaab or Godthaab. They should then head towards the shore in order to take on a local pilot, and then either make for a temporary harbour, until conditions permit of heading farther south, or try to proceed at once. The winter ice cannot be expected to break up in the narrow waters inside the "Skærgaard" until during the month of June, and the Torssukátak passage between Nunarssuit and the mainland can only be counted as navigable after that period. Julianehaab Fiord, on the other hand, may be expected to be navigable as early as the month of April.

Julianehaab Harbour is a bay open towards the south, but greatly narrowed by several skerries, and the assistance of a pilot is absolutely essential to strangers in these localities. Vessels must be made fast with solid hawsers, as violent gales may prevail, partly easterly winds which assume a föhn-like character, and partly winds from the north-west. The settlement offers good conditions for obtaining supplies and other assistance. When the ice blocks the entrance to the harbour itself, the pilot can direct the vessel to various anchorages on the way thereto.

ARSUK FIORD WITH THE CRYOLITE MINE OF IVIGTÛT.

Close to the north of the Julianehaab District lies Arsuik Fiord, and here the well-known Ivigtut mine with its unique cryolite beds has created a very considerable maritime traffic, as compared with conditions elsewhere in Greenland. As already mentioned in the chapter on ice conditions the navigation of the Arsuik District is less difficult than that of Julianehaab, even though the Polar ice remains here for the same length of time. This is due to the fact that the change brought about by the prominent island of Nunarssuit in the trend of the Polar Current causes the ice to scatter in many places, and so makes it possible to penetrate the ice belt off Arsuik Fiord. Consequently Ivigtut for a number of years has been regularly visited every summer by various large sailing vessels which, even though they frequently had rough encounters with the Arctic ice, practically always succeeded in reaching their destination. Now, as steam vessels are used for the transport of cryolite, the Arctic ice only once in a while causes serious difficulties, and even though it is not always possible to penetrate the ice off Arsuik Fiord itself, it is comparatively easy to find such a chance by heading northward along the edge of the ice and then heading southward between the ice and the shore, possibly making use of the anchorages north of Arsuik Fiord. A local pilot is easily procured at Frederikshaab, and also at several places north and south of that settlement. Consequently Ivigtut may be considered open to navigation at the time of the year when the win-

ter ice does not make it impossible to sail in Arsuk Fiord, *i. e.* from the middle of April till the end of October. A native pilot is easily secured from the trading post of Arsuk.

FREDERIKSHAAB DISTRICT.

The Frederikshaab Settlement is, after Julianehaab, the most difficult of access of the Greenland settlements. It may often be approached with success early in the spring, before the Arctic ice has extended so far as to block the entrance to the harbour; this will generally take place at the end of April and will last until well into July (see further under "Ice Conditions" p. 218).

Vessels encountering impenetrable ice off Frederikshaab, rather than seek an ice-free harbour farther north, should keep out to sea and await improved conditions. They will generally not have to wait long, as the ice in this latitude with calm weather or northerly and easterly winds is frequently scattered towards the west, and with southerly winds drifts so quickly northward that a chance of forcing the ice may easily present itself off Frederikshaab.

The surroundings of the settlement are low and rounded, with no mountains easily identified, but with a considerable number of small islands outside it. The farthest out of these islands, the beacon island Qioqe, is somewhat conspicuous, and navigators who are not familiar with the localities ought to keep close to it until a pilot is sent out from the settlement. The great projecting island, the Frederikshaab Æmánaq, situated about 14 miles south of the settlement, and Frederikshaab Iceblink, about 28 miles north of Frederikshaab, are good sea-marks for vessels approaching from the south and the north respectively. Off the Iceblink the water may be of a milky colour at a distance of up to several miles from the shore.

The harbour of the settlement is small, but there are fairly good possibilities of obtaining supplies and carrying out repairs, and vessels can be beached. The winter ice breaks up in April.

GODTHAAB DISTRICT.

Northward of Frederikshaab Iceblink the country becomes much more mountainous without, however, offering any peaks, which are particularly suitable as sea-marks at a long distance. Still, the low, projecting mountain, Skinderhvalen, southward of Godthaab Fiord, is rather striking at a distance of some ten miles by its resemblance to the back of a whale.

Between the Frederikshaab Iceblink and Skinderhvalen there are a few harbours, the most important of which is that of Fiskernasset with a small

trading post. The chief station and best harbour of the district is Godthaab, the oldest settlement of Greenland. In clear weather land is easily made by means of the high and conspicuous mountains, Hjortetakken (i. e. the antler) and Sadlen (i. e. the saddle). In less clear weather the closely packed group of about 200 dome-shaped islets, the Kûk Islands (Greenlandic: Kitsigsut) off the mouth of Godthaab Fiord are a good guide.

The fiord can be approached by several routes within the "Skærgaard" from the above-mentioned mountain, Skinderhvalen, southward and northward of the Kûk Islands, and finally east of the complex of islands off the trading post Kangeq, on the north side of the entrance to Godthaab Fiord. Navigators unfamiliar with the localities ought to keep to the north of the Kûk Islands, until a pilot is procured from Kangeq. The bank situated off the fiords with depths in some places of about 40 m, together with the deep channel running inside it, is a good direction in thick weather, and vessels may anchor there while waiting for the weather to clear up.

It is not advisable to anchor off the settlement itself except for quite short stays, as the waters are very deep and open to swells and ice drift. On the other hand, the harbour which is situated on the east side of the Godthaab peninsula yields secure and ample anchorage. Small vessels can lie at single anchor, but large vessels, as in most of the Greenland harbours, should be made fast to the shore by strong hawsers.

As mentioned under "Ice Conditions" the "Storis" at times extends as far as the latitude of Godthaab, and in isolated cases even farther north; this, however, does not as a rule happen until June or July, and the ice only very seldom prevents steamers able to withstand the buffeting of the ice from entering the harbour.

In the settlement there are trained artisans, who are able to undertake repairs of various sorts. Beyond the commodities provided by the Royal Greenland Trading Company the settlement is of no importance as a place for supplies.

SUKKERTOPPEN DISTRICT.

While the country round Godthaab is characterized by lofty and beautiful mountain tracts, the north side of Godthaab Fiord already assumes the low, rounded land form which distinguishes the coast land up to some ten miles southward of Sukkertoppen.

The waters close along the shore between the two settlements are rather dangerous, and unless the sea is so rough that blind skerries are exposed, no vessel should come nearer to the coast than about 6 miles.

Just southward of Sukkertoppen the mountains again assume a lofty and imposing appearance, while a number of jagged, pointed rocks greatly contribute to the wild, but beautiful character of the country. One of the surest sea-marks is the steep, brownish island "Kin of Sal" (Greenlandic:

Ũmánaq), which is very striking, particularly when viewed from the south and the north. There are two approaches to the settlement, one from the south and the other from the north, but as the waters are rather treacherous, navigators not familiar with the locality should await the arrival of the pilot outside the outer islands.

The harbour of the settlement is small but safe. Vessels should, however, be made fast to the shore by hawsers. As a rule the winter ice breaks up about the middle of April, and from then the navigation of the settlement may take place unchecked until far into the autumn. In late summer, fresh reindeer meat, feathered game and trout may frequently be obtained.

Towards the north the lowering tracts of Sukkertoppen pass into a rugged, snow-clad alpine landscape, the high peaks being broken by deep valleys and fiords; and from the sea, steep glaciers are seen to debouch into the interiors of these fiords.

The water along the coast is considered clear as far as South Ström Fiord. From there and up to Itivdleq Fiord vessels should keep at a distance of about 12 miles from the shore.

The trading station Kangâmiut is situated about 26 miles north of Sukkertoppen. The Sukkertoppen Settlement was first established in this place, deriving its name from the island of Ũmánaq, the form of which suggests a sugar-loaf and which, especially when viewed from the north-west, is easily recognized.

Little Hellefiske Bank is situated off the Sukkertoppen District, being divided from the shore by a deep channel; it has good anchorage.

HOLSTEINSBORG DISTRICT.

While the coast land round Amerdloq Fiord, slightly southward of the Holsteinsborg Settlement, is rather low, it rises again near the settlement proper; the southern incline of this highland, and the easily recognized Mount Kællingehætten (*i. e.* woman's hood) make excellent sea-marks. There are two approaches to the settlement, the southern and the northern, but as both of them offer certain difficulties to the navigator who is not familiar with the locality, vessels bound for this place should await the arrival of a pilot outside the outer islands.

The port consists of an outer and an inner harbour. In the former it is possible for vessels to lie at single anchor, though exposed to a strong current and swells, whereas in the inner and quieter harbour, vessels need only be made fast to the shore by hawsers.

Especially in the spring, strong north-westerly winds may prevail. In the winter Holsteinsborg is frequently visited by the west-ice which, however, rarely lies along the shore, or the firm solid winter ice after the middle of

April; from then and almost throughout the summer it is encountered 40—50 miles from the shore. The winter ice rarely breaks up until the latter part of April or the beginning of May.

In late summer or early autumn, fresh reindeer meat is generally to be obtained in great quantities at Holsteinsborg, the grass-covered valleys in the broad ice-free coast land north and south of the settlement making one of the best reindeer districts of West Greenland.

Great Hellefiske Bank is situated off the Holsteinsborg District and gives good anchorage.

North of Holsteinsborg the coast land is elevated up to North Ström Fiord which, from an administrative point of view, forms the boundary between South and North Greenland. The coast land now assumes a low and monotonous character, which continues as far as the south side of Disko Bay. Off Isortoq Fiord lies South Bay, one of the harbours most frequented by the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries; and here vessels outward and homeward bound assembled to await a favourable opportunity for their further passage.

EGEDESMINDE DISTRICT.

The only point easily recognized on the flat and monotonous coast land between North Ström Fiord and Egedesminde is the island of Rifkol (Ũmánaq) 267 m in height. The waters off this island are dangerous within a distance up to 16 miles. Towards the north the flat, precipitous heights of Disko are visible at this distance in clear weather. When approaching Disko Bay, the number of icebergs increases, particularly after the breaking up of the winter ice. Although in South Greenland navigators can always count on getting a Greenland pilot on board several miles out to sea, this is not the case in North Greenland, where kayaking is far less developed.

The harbour of the Egedesminde Settlement is safe, but not very large. There are two approaches to it, a south-western and a north-eastern. Vessels bound for this harbour should await the arrival of a pilot at Vester Eiland, which may be passed rather near.

DISKO, DISKO BAY AND VAIGAT

with the Godhavn, Christianshaab, Jacobshavn and Ritenbenk
Settlements.

From Egedesminde right across the mouth of Disko Bay to Godhavn there are various groups of islands separated by navigable channels. Navigators unfamiliar with the locality should not attempt the passage without taking a Greenland pilot on board; such may be had from Krouprinsens

Island or from Godhavn. If the latter place is chosen, the Parry skerries should be avoided, the northernmost of which, situated 5 miles south 36° west of the watch-house at Godhavn is blind and only in a very rough sea exposed by breakers, but the southernmost, situated 9 miles south 49° west of the watch house, is almost dry, even at high water.

The winter ice, which in normal winters lies solid over the whole of Disko Bay, breaks up in May or the beginning of June. The waters then, as already mentioned, are frequently filled with icebergs and calf ice, which together with the basalt mountains of Disko, with their varying shades, lend a peculiar and impressive charm to the whole scenery.

As the current running westward is stronger on the south side of Disko Bay than along Disko Island itself, ice-free water is most frequently found in the southern part of the bay. In the summer the prevalent direction of the winds is into or out of the bay; and only in unsettled weather the wind blows from other directions.

Godhavn is from an administrative point of view the main station of North Greenland, and is situated at one of the best harbours of the west coast, on the south point of Disko Island. The harbour is easily made, being located right below the highest part of the inland ice of Disko, which in clear weather is visible at a distance of about 60 miles. The winter ice in the harbour rarely breaks up until the month of June, but there is good anchorage in Lyngmark Bay, situated north of the harbour.

The settlement only offers slight opportunities for obtaining supplies. The waters along the south-easterly side of Disko are comparatively clear and navigable without the assistance of a pilot, when keeping 2—4 miles off the coast.

The other settlements situated at Disko Bay, *viz.* *Christianshaab*, *Jacobshavn* and *Ritenbenk* are, owing to the winter ice, unnavigable until the end of June, at the earliest. Simultaneously with the breaking up of the winter ice great numbers of icebergs, discharged from the Jacobshavn Icefiord, block up the sea and stop navigation for several days. The depth is rather great in Disko Fiord itself, but somewhat less at its mouth, where icebergs loosened from the bank situated outside Jacobshavn Icefiord once more may take ground.

Of the three settlements mentioned, *Christianshaab* has the best harbour: *Jacobshavn* may at times be difficult of access, owing to icebergs and calf ice, and there as also at *Ritenbenk*, especially in late summer, vessels are occasionally inconvenienced by a rough sea, due to the calving of neighbouring icebergs.

Vaigat. The sound between Disko and Nûgssuaq is navigable as long as the passage is not blocked by icebergs and calf ice, which is said to be not uncommon shortly after the breaking up of the winter ice in the icefiords of Torssukátak and Jacobshavn. There are, as far as is known, no other

skerries than those indicated on the map. The passage between Hare Island and Nûgssuaq is also navigable.

On the south-easterly and north-easterly sides of Disko there are a few coal-mines; though the coal is of poor quality, it is, nevertheless, used both on land and on board ship.

ŬMÁNAQ FIORD AND ŬMÁNAQ.

The sea along the western side of Disko, Hare Island, Nûgssuak and into Ŭmánaq Fiord is clear right up to the settlement of Ŭmánaq, situated on an island about 50 miles inside the north-west point of Nûgssuaq.

The winter ice of the fiord rarely breaks up till the end or the middle of June. As the winter ice along with icebergs and calf-ice sometimes puts considerable obstacles in the way of navigation, signals are given from the top of Hare Island as to whether it is possible to navigate the fiord. On entering the fiord vessels should keep to the Nûgssuaq side, as here is less trouble from icebergs.

Fogs are rather frequent in summer.

The harbour of the settlement is situated on the east side of the southern extremity of Ŭmánaq Island. It is not large, but the anchorage is good, although vessels must be made fast with hawsers to the shore. Small icebergs and calf-ice frequently drift into it and impede the traffic, and the icebergs that ground on a bank right outside the harbour when calving may cause a heavy sea in the harbour.

At Niaqornat and the coal-mine Qaersuarssuk on Nûgssuaq, and also on the west side of Ŭmánaq Island, there are anchorages which can be used if the entrance to the harbour is blocked with ice; this is indicated by signals from the settlement.

UPERNIVIK DISTRICT.

The southern part of the district up to the settlement of Pröven is, like Disko and Nûgssuak, characterized by precipitate basalt mountains, among which the promontory of Svartenhuk stands out rather distinctly with its dark colour.

The waters along the shore are clear. Directly southward of Svartenhuk lies the Maligiaq harbour, the approach to which is unimpeded. From Svartenhuk there are other approaches within the "Skærgaard" to the two trading stations, *viz.* South Upernivik and Proven, and from here farther northward to the settlement Upernivik.

At Pröven the rock formations change from basalt to archæan rock, and this is a good guide when making Pröven from the sea.

The approach to the Upernivik Settlement takes place by means of the easily recognized rock *Qaersorsuaq* (Sandersons Hope), which in clear weather is visible from off *Svartenhuk* and the islets *Brun Island*, *Nøglen* (i. e. the key) and *Hvalfiskén* (i. e. the whale). A pilot comes off on signalling. The harbour of the settlement is situated slightly to the north of it, and is sheltered against southwesterly but not northwesterly winds, and these may cause a heavy sea in it; it is also frequently filled with drifting calf ice, floe ice and small icebergs. Vessels must be made fast to the shore with hawsers. The winter ice breaks up in May.

THULE DISTRICT.

The navigation of the southern part of the district, *Melville Bay*, is mentioned on p. 232 under the navigation of *Davis Strait* and *Baffin Bay*. Here it may only to be repeated that the chances of an easy or a difficult passage in these waters, in former times of such evil repute, are, altogether, dependent upon the winds, as the ice masses of *Baffin Bay* are far more apt to be crushed against the coast than in the *Upernivik District*. The coast land of *Melville Bay*, so rich in glaciers, discharges great quantities of icebergs. The southern boundary of the district is marked by the easily recognized points *Wilcox Head* and *Devil's Thumb*. Somewhat farther north the conspicuous island of *Qapiarfígssalik* (*Thom Island*) is visible.

In the middle part of the district ice conditions and, therefore, also navigation is far more favourable, and the winter ice along the shore may, at any rate as far as the outer points are concerned, be counted on as breaking up during the latter part of May or the beginning of June. At *North Star Bay*, a cove on the south side of *Wolstenholme Fiord*, lies the *Thule* station, the most northerly Danish settlement in Greenland, with a good and easily accessible harbour.

At the mouth of *Wolstenholme Fiord* lies the island of *Agpat* (*Saunders Island*), which is free from ice at a very early season. At one time it was the meeting place of whalers, who waited there for open water in the northwesterly part of *Baffin Bay*.

THE CHURCH OF GREENLAND OF THE PRESENT DAY

BY

Rev. KNUD BALLE

The celebration, in 1921, of the Bicentenary of the establishment of communication between Denmark and Greenland, may with full historic justice be described in the first place as the Jubilee of the Greenland missionary church, for surely, the chief object of the man who brought about the communication between these two countries, was the planting of the Church of Christ in Greenlandic soil.

This object may be said to have been achieved, in so far as the population of Danish West Greenland for many years has been converted to the Christian faith, and it has been possible to entrust to the Greenlanders themselves what still remains in the way of missionary work. The last heathens on the east coast were christened in the very year of the Jubilee, and missionary work is in full activity among the small tribe of the Cape York District, which only at the beginning of the present century was brought into contact with the other districts of Greenland. What follows is an attempt to give a fairly detailed account of the position of the Church of Greenland at the time of the Bicentenary, the conditions under which it lives, its sphere of activity and general state.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH OF GREENLAND

The Church of Greenland forms part of the national Danish Lutheran-Evangelical Church under the supervision of the Bishop of Zealand. There is, however, the peculiarity about the Church of Greenland that, since 1912, it is not directly subject to the Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs, but all church reports etc. are submitted to the director of the Greenland department of the Ministry of the Interior, which thus becomes the decisive factor in practically all matters of interest and significance to the Church of Greenland, only questions relating to ritual observances and the like being subjected to the Bishop direct. This arrangement was carried out in spite of the protests of the representatives of the Greenland Church, who

are still in favour of its being annulled, for the reason that direct connection with the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs would appear to offer a better security for the development of the Church of Greenland according to its own inner laws, and in the closest possible contact with the observances of the national and mother church.

The position of adviser to the Government is filled by the lecturer on the Greenlandic language, who is also a clergyman and at one time has officiated in Greenland.

The missionary for the east coast is immediately under the supervision of the Government, whereas the mission at Cape York is controlled by the "Association for Greenland Church Affairs," with the support of the "Danish Missionary Society," the Cape York District having only been recognized as Danish territory since 1921.

Only West Greenland is considered in the following account.¹ The Church of Greenland is divided into 11 parishes, each having its own minister. These parishes are combined into two larger groups with a common jurisdiction, the so-called "archdeaconries"². The line dividing the two Greenland archdeaconries is between Holsteinsborg and Egedesminde, the North Greenland archdeaconry comprising Upernivik, Ūmánaq, Jacobshavn and Egedesminde, while the remaining seven parishes compose the South Greenland archdeaconry, these being Holsteinsborg, Sukkertoppen, Godthaab, Frederikshaab, Julianehaab, Lichtenau and Frederiksdal. In two of the North Greenland parishes (Jacobshavn and Egedesminde) there is, further, a "district" minister, who officiates in part of the parish (Ritenbenk and Godhavn respectively). With the 14,000 inhabitants of Greenland this makes about one thousand parishioners for each clergyman (in reality the figures range between 400 and 1600). But the population is scattered over many dwelling places (in the various parishes varying from 7 to about 30 with an average area of 150—250 km) while climatic conditions make journeys impossible at certain seasons, and moreover means of communication are very primitive. So the clergy of South Greenland are, as a rule, only able to visit all of their parishioners once a year; but in northern Greenland, where the ice permits intercourse in winter, it is possible to make the round of the parish twice or more a year. At the dwelling places where there is no resident minister, the catechists officiate at divine service and funerals, and also do duty as schoolmasters, while only ordained ministers are permitted to perform marriages and to administer the Sacrament; in later years the clergy themselves have tried to have the latter ordinances altered, but as yet with-

¹ As to East Greenland and Cape York see the History of the Mission pp. 346—347.

² Here and in the following "archdeacon" will be used as the nearest English equivalent of Danish *Provst*, a clergyman who within a certain district of the diocese, *Provsti*, inspects schools and has charge of churches and rectories; in Greenland he also ordains clergymen and attends to church matters generally; for *Provsti* "arch-deaconry" will be used, although neither term can be considered quite synonymous.



Fig. 1. The Church of Jacobshavn (W. Jost).
Type of an older Greenland church.



Fig. 2. Interior of the Church of Jacobshavn (H. Ostermann).

out any definite results. The parishes are in their turn subdivided into districts, in which the chief catechist to a certain extent supervises the others, although this applies more to school than to church matters.

In the year of the Jubilee the Greenland Church was represented by 14 ministers, of whom one was the head of the training college at Godthaab and Archdeacon of South Greenland, without any parish to supervise. Of these fourteen ministers six were Danes (two born in Greenland) while the remainder were Greenlanders, whose position according to the law is the same as that of the Danish clergy (except as far as their salaries are concerned); at the present time a Greenlander is officiating as deputy archdeacon.

The necessary qualification for holding office under the Danish Church in Greenland is the usual divinity degree, but already while preparing for this degree candidates for the ministry in Greenland receive some instruction in Greenlandic at the University of Copenhagen and, whenever possible, after ordination are first appointed assistants of older clergymen.

Before the Danish clergy are able to do work of real importance in Greenland they must—though to a lesser degree—surmount the same difficulties as the missionaries of the olden times, difficulties with which one is always confronted when dealing with a foreign people. The Greenlandic language is very difficult, and only those possessing a natural gift for languages ever become so proficient as to be able to express themselves with natural ease, and in such a manner as to avoid errors and misunderstandings. The Greenlanders, especially those living in the settlements, are, however, so accustomed to hear their language mutilated by the Danes that they are less affected by linguistic shortcomings than one might expect. It is to the credit of the Danish clergy that they now speak Greenlandic much better than they did in former days, which has some connection with the fact that on an average they remain longer in the country, and this circumstance, also from other points of view, must be considered an advantage. Though it may also be said that the Danish clergy are generally closer to the native population, understand them better and enjoy their confidence to a higher degree than the other Danes residing in Greenland, they—and perhaps not least those with the highest aims—still notice a gulf, which it is hard to get over, and this naturally detracts from the benefits which they might otherwise confer upon their congregations.

The native clergy are taught in the seminary or training college at Godthaab. Their training extends over a period of six years, and is followed by a 2—3 years' course in Denmark, two pupils of each class, after having passed their examination, being selected for this more advanced course of instruction. That the native clergy, everything else being equal, possess certain advantages over the Danes, due to their first-hand knowledge of the language, ideas, and manner of thinking and living of their parishioners, is a fact which needs no further proof, and on the whole, it can be said that the

expectations justly entertained of the Greenland clergy in view of their early life and upbringing have, if anything, been surpassed. The drawbacks which they in their turn have to cope with, are more particularly the ordeals which they, in one way or another, must undergo during their stay in Copenhagen, and the difficulty which they sometimes have in making themselves respected by their countrymen or, rather, by their catechists, the latter frequently having been their fellows in the training college at Godthaab.



Fig. 3. The new church of Godhavn (M. P. Porsild).

The journeys of the clergy for the purpose of superintending the congregations and catechists of their parishes are partly by water in rowboats (*umiaqs*), partly by sledge, and are by no means always without danger. The day of the arrival of the minister is generally considered a festival, if only for the reason that it breaks the monotony of existence at the solitary dwelling places.

That the isolated life in many ways tends to impair the mental energy of the Greenlanders is universally acknowledged. The long periods without any communication with the outer world, the feeling of mental isolation and

the resulting lack of impulses from without, combined in the most northerly settlements with the strain of the dark season, all this has a deadening effect on any one who does not possess the saving quality of endurance and renewal from within. The livelier intercourse which, of late years, has sprung up between the settlements has, however, been of great importance to the clergy by giving facilities for more frequent meetings. Besides visits of a private character, the clergy now also assemble for conventions, where, under the presidency of the archdeacon, questions concerning church matters are discussed, and the members spend some time together for their mutual edification. At these conventions, which are held in North and South Greenland separately, the clergymen of the two archdeaconries have an opportunity of meeting, even though it has not yet proved possible to assemble all the members of the Church of Greenland at the same time.

As it will appear from the above, the main burden of the daily work is borne, and must be borne, by the catechists. The Greenland church organization comprises about 160 catechists, the number almost corresponding to that of the dwelling places. One third of these catechists have received instruction at the training college of Godthaab, another third at one of the three schools for catechists or "privately" from clergymen; the remaining third have had no training of any kind.

The average catechist has a strong feeling of the importance of his position, which naturally in some cases may manifest itself as conceit, generally, however, of a harmless kind; thus there is a story of an old, untrained catechist who, to the amusement of his own countrymen, when he was to preach appeared with all the books he could lay his hands on—including the spelling primer—under his arm, in order to impress his audience with his learning, and who only reluctantly contented himself with less than nine hymns! A certain clerical dignity is also rather common, particularly among the older men, but at the same time there are many examples of touching reverence for the position held, as when an old, also untrained, catechist relates how in a dream he was reminded of his responsibility. He saw a boat, drawn up on land and painted white right down to the keel, and everything belonging to a boat, sails, oars, etc., lying in it, so brand new and fine as if it had never yet been handled by man. Then a human being came towards him, pointed at the boat and said: "See, this is yours to take care of; you must keep it just as it is now. You must not soil the colours, nor alter it in any way. You must take *very* great care of it all."

Furthermore, the average catechists may be said to be lacking in independence of thought, being easily impressed by the opinions of their teachers and guides and even by their personal characteristics and faults. On hearing a certain man repeat the creed, I often felt tempted to open my eyes, in order to make sure that it was not my late father, whose pupil he was, so forcibly was I reminded of my father's manner of speaking and his very accent. What

is more important, however, is that it frequently proves difficult for them to do independent work when they have to stand alone. As a rule they themselves require information—and if possible very detailed information—on every point, and when confronted with something new and unexpected they are often helpless.

Naturally, there are catechists who must be said to be utterly unfit for the vocation they have chosen, their chief interest being hunting and sealing, while there are others who may have wished to enter the service of the Royal Greenland Trading Company, either as artisans or as managers of trading stations; and even nowadays there are many who have to be removed owing to unchastity, though the number of such is declining; furthermore, one also encounters a surprising lack of understanding of mental values, as when an otherwise well-informed catechist recommended a young man for the vocation, alleging in support of his recommendation that he knew all the genealogies of the Old Testament by heart.

On the other hand, there are, particularly in recent years, various instances of pupils from the training colleges who, after having passed their examination, have refused offers of positions, which would have secured them far better pecuniary conditions than they were able to obtain as catechists. Among the older catechists there are many pious, conscientious men to whom religion is a personal experience, and who possess great authority and are highly respected by their fellows, not only because they have taught nearly all the inhabitants of the dwelling place in their childhood and seen them grow up, but also because of their personality. So also many of the younger generation who have reaped the benefit of improved instruction, are better informed and have a wider outlook; these men have entered upon their office with earnest zeal, and influenced by the religious revival—which will be mentioned later on—have with joyful eagerness taken up voluntary church work.

Most Greenlanders are naturally eloquent. At the meeting places of their villages they are wont to tell of the day's hunt and of other events—perhaps somewhat circumstantially but graphically with many illustrative



Fig. 4. The native minister of Angmagssalik and his wife (E. Storgaard).

gestures, so that it is often possible to surmise what they are talking about, even though one cannot hear or understand the words, and in daily talk they easily hit upon apt comparisons. Formerly, these qualities did not show to advantage in the sermons, but since the religious revival they are beginning to have free play; one feels that the catechists generally endeavour to adapt their preaching to the understanding and ideas of their audience, and though they may have got some of their thoughts from us, they are set forth in such a manner that one would involuntarily exclaim: "Yes, that is how one should speak in order to be fully understood by the Greenlanders, and that is the way to appeal to their understanding, their feelings and desires!" However, the majority of the untrained catechists, when officiating at divine service, read from a book of sermons.

From the above it will appear that the catechists, to an even higher degree than the clergy, are in danger of stagnating, and perhaps all the more as access to mental refreshment through books is denied to them. There is very little literature in Greenlandic, and only the minority of those who have been taught at the seminary know so much Danish as to be able to profit by reading a Danish book. During later years an attempt has been made to remedy this, partly by publishing a small paper for catechists, *nalunaerutit*, and partly by meetings for catechists. The latter began as one day meetings in each parish; later on their duration was extended over several days, and they include the catechists of several parishes, but with a view to saving time they were generally held in connection with conventions or other meetings. These catechists' meetings have always been greatly appreciated and certainly ought to be kept up; if possible they should be extended to longer courses, of one or two weeks, and successful attempts in this direction have already been made.

The salaries of the catechists have been considerably raised by a scale of pay per August 5th 1920, according to which catechists taught at a seminary begin with a salary of 400 kroner, rising to 800 kroner (chief catechists further receive an additional salary of 240 kroner), and catechists trained at catechists' schools receive a salary of 240 kroner, rising to 480 kroner. The untrained catechists receive a salary of 50—150 kroner "according to the nature and scope of the work." Under prevailing economic conditions the catechist taught at the training school can lead a care-free existence, without having recourse to sealing in order to supplement his income; only the salary should have been put higher in the first years at the cost of that of later years, as it may sometimes prove difficult to make both ends meet in the early years, when housekeeping usually has to be started and a house built, the paying off of which takes a good deal of the salary.

There are in all eighty churches and chapels. The churches at the settlements and the larger dwelling places are generally constructed of wood and are comparatively imposing and attractive. At the smaller dwelling places

they are insignificant buildings with walls of stone or turf, the inside being lined with match boarding. Where there is no church building, the service takes place at the house of the catechist.

Service is held at least once every Sunday; in many places—and always during Lent—also on Wednesday evenings. At the ordinary service, as well as at all church ceremonies, the Danish ritual is used. The catechists are not permitted to celebrate the Holy Communion, but read the collect for the day and a sermon from the pulpit; nowadays they also preach from the pulpit, the special lecterns which were formerly arranged for the use of the catechists having, fortunately, been given up.

Though by far the predominant part of the literature published in Greenlandic is of a religious character, it must still be called very poor. Most of the older literature is out of print, and the remainder is obsolete, so that in a summary of the chief literature, account is only to be taken of more recent works.

Naturally there is a translation of the Bible, though not of the apocryphal writings. The translation now in use, which was chiefly the work of the well-known linguist Samuel Kleinschmidt, was done with unmistakable care, but the language is frequently somewhat stilted, and the translation paraphrastic, at times even misleading.

As a guide for the understanding of the Bible there are short introductions to the Old and the New Testament, a translation of a Danish guide to the study of the life of Christ according to the four Gospels, interpretations of Matthew's Gospel and several of the letters of the New Testament (the Epistles to the Romans, the Philippians and the Thessalonians), but the greater part of these writings are chiefly meant as text-books at the training college, and the same applies to a brief dogmatic primer and a compendium of ecclesiastical history, as well as to a description of the life of St. Paul.

Of devotional writings, in the strictest sense of the word, there are three books of sermons, one on texts from the Old Testament, a second on texts from the New Testament and a third on texts from the epistles of the New Testament, as well as a translation of Ussing's book of sermons for children. Besides, there is a book of home devotions, with short pieces for every day in the year; Bible readings on the Acts of the Apostles, a number of communion sermons, translations of famous religious works such as Thomas a Kempis's "Imitation of Christ," John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," an adaptation of Ricard's "Christ and his Men", and a number of booklets of religious stories.

As it will appear, the Greenlandic literature chiefly consists of translations; original works, written with a view to the needs of the Greenlanders, are still almost entirely lacking. This also, though to a lesser degree, applies to the religious book which is most widely distributed and appreciated in Greenland, *viz.* the Hymn-book. The Greenland edition is arranged entirely

like the Danish one, with collects, Sunday text, the Passion and various prayers printed as a supplement. It numbers 478 hymns, and nearly all of these are translations or adaptations, but still there are some original hymns composed by Greenlanders, and there is no doubt that these are among the favourites, and that some of the authors really possess poetic talent.

Of religious papers there is—besides the one mentioned above for catechists—a small revivalist paper, *eqêrsautigssial*, edited by the chief catechist at Godthaab, and the printing of which is defrayed by the revivalist communities.

ATTITUDE OF THE GREENLANDERS TOWARDS CHRISTIANITY.

Though with a people like the Greenlanders, whose social conditions, organization and civilization are more or less uniform, the difference in the attitude to and view of the religious problem being less pronounced than at a more diversified stage of culture, it should perhaps be emphasized that the characterization attempted in this section should not be considered as applying to all alike, but merely as a presentation of certain characteristic features which seem typical of the average Greenlander. The effects which more especially are due to the revival will not be mentioned here but in a later section, nor will any details be given concerning the marked difference between conditions in the two most northerly and the two most southerly parishes, the last to come under the influence of the mission, and conditions in the districts which were first converted to Christianity. It must be borne in mind that though it is two hundred years since Hans Egede landed in Greenland, it is not much more than two generations since the last heathens of West Greenland were baptized, and so the words of Hans Egede may still strike an answering chord in our hearts: "I admit that the least sign of emotion and exaltation in the Greenlanders has been as much to me as the greatest devotional exercises among our Christians."

The Greenlanders are, in one way, extremely earth-bound; the hard struggle for existence tends to develop a marked interest in the things of this world, and as long as they have sufficient to sustain life, they seem happy and content. The materialism which a man expressed in the following remark, to the minister of his parish, that this winter he had nothing to thank God for, as he had caught no seals, could also be uttered by others, though less open of speech than he. Nevertheless, the Greenlanders as a people are deeply religious at heart, and the awe-inspiring aspect of nature brings home to them the impotence of man and gives rise to serious thoughts.

From an extrinsic point of view the Greenlanders are staunch followers of the Church. There is practically no renegation and no openly expressed

opposition to the Church or to Christianity. As far as I can tell, no Greenlanders has ever been known to wish that his child should not be baptized, and a civil marriage function is unheard of because there is no use for it.

Divine service is generally very largely attended, though the different localities may vary greatly, and though even locally one must distinguish between diligent church-goers and people who only attend once in a while. In Greenland as elsewhere the women form the majority of the congregation, particularly at the Sunday morning service, when the weather happens to be favourable for seal catching, but on an average the disproportion between the number of male and female church-goers is certainly considerably less than in most other churches. The congregation is very ready to join in the singing of hymns—the Greenlanders have good voices and great facility in learning tunes, and they are good listeners, in so far as it is easy to catch and hold their attention when speaking in the right manner. In another way they also show great respect for divine service and the house of God, inasmuch as they, and more particularly the women, don their finest clothes to go to church, and it is considered improper to attend the service unwashed and in dirty clothes. That even suckling babes are taken to church may be rather embarrassing, but the excuse given is that only very few families have someone to take care of the children while the parents are at church.

The great church festivals—more particularly Christmas—attract the whole congregation, but the custom, which in itself is rather a nice one, *viz.* that everyone who can afford it, invites in the course of the day the whole population to his home for coffee, creates a certain restlessness and scatters the households, so that, from a Christian point of view, it cannot be said to further the festive peace.

The annual percentage of communicants for the period 1913—17, including the whole population (children as well as adults) of all West Greenland was, in 1913, 82 per cent; in 1914, 79 per cent; in 1915, 71 per cent; in 1916, 84 per cent.; in 1917, 74 per cent. The highest percentage for one year in a single parish was, during the same period, 72 per cent, the lowest 44 per cent.

Household worship in the proper sense of the word has not become general, but hymns are frequently sung in the homes and when travelling, and it is a common custom that one of the children says the Lord's Prayer, or that a hymn is sung before the family go to sleep in the evening. Religious pictures, by preference coloured ones, are greatly coveted and are seen in almost every home.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that up to the present no atheistic propaganda has been attempted in Greenland, that the church service in many places is the only chance the population have to meet in great numbers, and that there is no competition of any kind from places of entertainment.

From the above I feel justified in concluding that the relation of the

average Greenlander to Church and Christendom is largely authoritative and unreflected. After a Greenlander has once adopted Christianity, his innate conservatism makes itself felt, so that it is rather taken for granted that one is a Christian and shares in the divine worship of the Christians. People do not speculate much on the pros or cons of the matter; mental difficulties—if they exist at all—do not play any part worth mentioning except for those who go to Denmark to study. Still, the adoption of the opinions of parents and teachers does not exclude serious preoccupation with religious questions. On the contrary—as also instanced by the history of earlier religious enthusiasts and in recent times by the great religious revival—it may be said that open susceptibility, or even suggestibility, is also a common feature in the attitude of the Greenlanders towards religion.

If one asks which aspect of Christianity has appealed most to the Greenlanders and struck the deepest roots in the people, the answer without any manner of doubt must be: The belief in Providence, and ever since the days of Hans Egede this has been one of the points on which the greatest emphasis has been laid. Its priority is for that matter greatly favoured by the conditions under which the Greenlanders live, seeing that their principal pursuit is extremely dangerous (in the years 1861—1900 accidents, as far as the men were concerned, accounted for 16.8 per cent of all deaths!) and by far the greater part of the population live a “hand-to-mouth” existence. When in conversation with Greenlanders religious questions are approached, the one most frequently referred to is preservation from danger and help in temporal distress.

Here are a few examples out of many:—A large boat anchored below a tall cliff was broken to pieces, but the crew got ashore to some large boulders, from which it seemed impossible to scale the almost perpendicular rocky wall. However, it was their only chance, so it had to be attempted, and two young men really succeeded in getting up and bringing succour from the nearest dwelling place. “But it was God’s angels who carried us; otherwise we should never have got up,” they said later on.—At a time when his dwelling place was in great need, a hunter was so lucky as to get within throwing distance of a white whale, but he failed to hit it with his harpoon. He decided to turn back, knowing by experience that when one white whale has been frightened, all the other whales of the immediate neighbourhood keep away, so that it was hopeless to expect to get any for some time to come. But after rowing for some distance he bent forward over his kayak, fully realizing his own impotence, and prayed from his innermost soul: “Give us this day our daily bread.” Presently a white whale came up quite close to him, and he caught it.

The belief in Providence may sometimes come perilously near to fatalism, or rather, close to the belief in Providence there may be ideas almost

amounting to fatalism, and which may have a weakening effect on the bodily as well as the mental energy of the Greenlanders and on their sense of guilt. Such sayings as the following are very frequently heard: "I did not get any seal, because it was ordained that I should not get any," also when there would seem to be more obvious reasons to adduce. Parallels to this from the psychic field are not unknown, even if they are not so frequently expressed. Also the problem of predestination and free will is the theological question which, more than any other, occupies the thoughts of the trained catechist, and one year when I taught at the training school at Godthaab, this was the dogmatic question which created the greatest interest on the part of the pupils, and over which most time was spent.

Upon the whole it is frequently emphasized—not least by the catechists—that the Greenlanders are more inclined to hear of the promises of God than of his demands. But this does not exclude the presence of something law-abiding, something akin to the spirit of the Old Testament in their view of Christianity. The religious ideas entertained by the Greenlanders, before Christianity was brought to them, were formulated in a number of commandments and prescriptions, in the keeping of which their religion really consisted. Nor is there any doubt that the commandments have played a very great part in mission work throughout the ages, and especially in religious teaching. And with good justice, for as it was expressed by one missionary: When dealing with people who seem to lack the religious fundamental ideas on which the gospel is based, or who at least are so benighted that it would be the work of generations to rouse them, a preparation for the gospel is needed, something corresponding to Moses and the Prophets, and to this day the Greenlanders certainly better understand Christianity as demonstrated by St. James, than as expounded by St. Paul. Or, as it has also been expressed, Roman Catholicism, with its beautiful service, the weight attached to the observance of certain external commandments and the idea of deserving acts, would in many respects appeal to the Greenlanders at their present stage of development.

The attention thus being chiefly directed towards the external commandments of Christianity, it is not to be wondered at that as a rule no deep spiritual feeling of guilt exists. But, on the other hand, it is unjust to the Greenlanders to say, as has sometimes been done, that they are entirely devoid of the acknowledgment of guilt and repentance. The tears shed here as elsewhere are certainly not always sincere, but then, on the other hand, they are by no means always tears of hypocrisy. So when a native sealer-catechist writes in a letter that he is so bowed down by a sense of guilt that he envies the dogs, because they are not to be sent up for judgment, his words, it is true, seem to suggest that the fear of punishment is more pronounced than the feeling of guilt, but the very phrasing makes it unlikely that they should be something learnt by heart. *Death and judgment*

are ideas to which the Greenlander recurs over and over again as those which have made the strongest impression on him.

Omens and dreams play an extremely great part—according to European ideas too great a part—in the religious life of the Greenlanders.

Omens are most frequently heard of in connection with death. When a death has occurred, mention is very often made of some strange incident or other, as that a raindrop has fallen upon one's hand from a cloudless sky, or that the Danish flag has been seen to fall from heaven, sometimes by the deceased himself and sometimes by the survivors. Nor is it an unheard-of thing to take auguries as to the going or not going to heaven of the deceased from such facts as whether the head was turned to the right or the left when death occurred, or whether the deceased was light or heavy to carry, etc.

The number of *dreams* one hears about are legion, and great importance is attached to them, because the things dreamt of to most people seem as real as if they were something experienced. Once I spoke to a widow whose husband years ago had fallen through the ice and had never been found, wherefore she believed that he had been caught by the *ingnerssuit* (supernatural beings supposed to live underground in the rocks along the shore) and still lived among them. When I tried to persuade her that such beings did not exist, she only answered that she herself had seen and spoken to her husband—in dreams!

I have already quoted one dream, and I shall later on recur to others, from which the extent of their religious significance may be gathered. Here I shall content myself with the remark, that the dreamers sometimes say that they do not know whether they were awake or asleep, thus suggesting visions and hallucinations, and sometimes the dreams are of such length that it may be said that the person in question has hardly been able to prevent the dream from mixing with the thoughts subsequently roused in him. Thus it seems as if the religious experiences or thoughts of the Greenlanders are apt to assume the form of dreams, and that the Greenlanders are frequently best able to regard them in that manner and, at any rate, consider dreams the form under which their beliefs can best be communicated to others.

The superstitions now occurring in Greenland (most marked in the isolated dwelling places) are generally interesting from a folkloristic rather than from a religious point of view. When some people stick a pin into the butt end of their guns so that it may kill better, or tie a piece of cork under it to prevent the seal from sinking when shot, or when a number of the old regulations and usages at deaths, such as the avoidance of the name of the deceased, are still observed, this does not from a religious point of view mean more than the custom of touching wood and the fear of sitting down thirteen at table.

Amulets, like the ones used in heathen times, may now be said to have disappeared, but the idea of their power to protect has been transferred to

various other objects, such as hymn-books laid under the pillow of the diseased or papers and books on religious matters placed in the kayak. Some years ago at a small dwelling-place, when I was packing up the communion chalice and paten, a man told me that I was fortunate in having such things with me when travelling, for then I need not be afraid of any kind of ghosts! Also this form of belief in amulets is, however, declining.

Special mention should be made of the superstition connected with *qivitut* (those who go into the mountains), because it has hardly been entirely overcome anywhere, and because, as far as I know, it is not known outside Greenland.

When a Greenlander, for some reason or other, gets tired of life, or is thwarted in love or suffering from lack of peace in his home, he has been known to leave the society of mankind and go away with his kayak and his weapons in order to sustain life as best he may. Occasionally he returns cured after some time has elapsed, but if not, he perishes from hunger and cold, and in several places skeletons of such men have been found. Considering the result, it is justifiable to call this "going into the mountains" the Greenlandic form of suicide, but I doubt if those who do it have the deliberate intention of committing suicide. I rather think that it is something akin to following the "call of the wild," which is known elsewhere, or the inclination to throw oneself down, which may come over one when standing at the edge of a precipice. A man who once, when out hunting, had been tempted "to go into the mountains," explained the sensation by saying that it was as an invisible power laying hold of him and forcing him away from mankind, so that he was obliged to collect all his mental strength to resist the temptation.

The cases where people deliberately have "gone into the mountains" are easily enumerated. But as soon as a sealer does not return from the sea, and he himself, or at least his kayak, is not found, he is frequently supposed to have "gone into the mountains," and one has heard him whistling, while another has seen his tracks in the snow, for it is hardly ever in summer when it is light that people become *qivitut*. Sometimes jesters amuse themselves by frightening people; at other times it is undoubtedly a case of trading on inspired fear, as it is very common that victuals or other things disappear when the *qivitut* make their appearance.

Special qualities are ascribed to these *qivitut*. They are supposed to have concluded a pact with the Devil and, in return, to be granted supernatural gifts; they fly through the air (with one knee bent) and are invulnerable; some maintain that they may become as large as a tent.

Upon the whole it may be said that the fear of the Devil plays a very great part in the imagination of the Greenlanders, though not always as the wicked enemy of souls, but as one whose bodily manifestations are to be feared. The Devil has not a cloven hoof but a raven's foot, and he also appears in other shapes, for instance, as a large dog. A man from Upernivik with

a particularly vivid imagination related that he had shot the Devil; when he fell into the sea there was a sound as of the rattling of chains.

In this connection it should be mentioned that demented people or patients suffering from delirious fancies even nowadays are frequently considered as possessed of a devil and consequently ill-treated, indeed, they have even been starved to death. As a characteristic example I shall give the details of a case which occurred in the Egedesminde parish a couple of years ago.

A woman who had just recovered from childbirth fell and hurt herself badly. She became ill, had convulsions and was delirious. The physician was sent for, but when he came the woman was dead. Partly through the messenger and partly through his luggage-driver the physician learnt that the other people of the dwelling place had thought her possessed by the Devil. It is true that during the early part of her illness she had spoken "good words," but later on she would not listen when they read to her from the Bible, and she also began to speak of the Devil; it was even reported that she had twice drunk wine which he had given her (a sort of travesty of the Holy Communion), and it was considered a confirmation of this that she had spit something dark (blood). It was further maintained that there were some who had seen her teeth lengthening; they grew as long as the two extreme joints of a finger, and her mouth had extended until it became as large as the opening of a milk can. The result of all this was that the population, who at first had helped her to the best of their ability, got frightened, withdrew from her and even ill-treated her, striking her face and beating her with a poker though, as they asserted, without molesting her, and when she died, the catechist buried her outside the churchyard.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON MORAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

"A people is not recreated, nor is it born afresh in the course of a day. A long embryological development is required." I do not quote these words, the truth of which is confirmed by the entire history of the Christian Church, because I consider it impossible to indicate points in which the morals of the Greenlanders have been largely influenced by Christianity; when comparing conditions at the present day with those at the time of Hans Egede, one may justly refer to the giving up of customs such as the exchange of wives, blood-vengeance and the turning out of the weak and infirm as a moral gain. Neither are they quoted in order to gloss over which failings and short-comings are, even now, incident to the work in the Greenland Church, and have contributed towards keeping the development from progressing further than it actually has. But the truth of these words must be borne in mind; otherwise one may be disappointed on seeing conditions as

they really are, or become unjust in one's judgment, because one makes comparisons with conditions which presuppose a much longer period of development.

Family feeling is highly developed among the Greenlanders. The fact of the family being crowded together within small houses, sometimes consisting of a single compartment, must in several respects be considered a drawback, but it undoubtedly furthers unity within the family. It is sometimes dreadfully hard for parents to send their children away from home for the sake of their education, but it rarely happens that they actually hold them back, particularly now with the better and more frequent intercourse with the outer world; also children leaving their homes experience a longing for it, which perhaps more frequently than elsewhere amounts to actual *suffering*. Family and fellow-feeling is, however, not limited to the inmates of the same house; the various branches of a family within the same dwelling place also frequently form "clans," which for good or evil influences the other members of the dwelling place, and the Greenlanders are surprisingly versed in their relationship even with people whom they have never seen.

Within the family the organization must still be termed a patriarchal one; it is generally the oldest man in the house who has the right to decide in all vital matters, at any rate as long as he is the breadwinner, while his wife supervises the distribution of victuals—above all the contents of the coffee pot—also when she is a widow.

Thus it is even now the most common proceeding for parents to decide the time for the contracting of marriages, as well as to choose the bride or bridegroom elect; and it naturally happens that they compel or attempt to compel a marriage with the person they have chosen, even when he or she does not appeal to their child, or the latter is in love with someone else. The younger generation, however, is beginning to emancipate itself in this respect. For that matter these compulsory marriages do not seem to be unhappier than others; I have even heard people say that they were pleased not to have been indulged in their foolishness, because they realized that through the marriage enforced upon them they were able to lead a life of prosperity, or at any rate with a certain competency. In the two cases—the only ones during the time I lived up there—when an application for divorce was made, the marriage, it is true, had been arranged by others, but then the applications were withdrawn, and to this day there are no established divorce laws in Greenland, everybody concerned being of the opinion that such laws should not be introduced before they may really be said to be required.

The relations between husband and wife may, upon the whole, be said to be good. One naturally hears of quarrels and ill-treatment, but in proportion to the number of individuals more rarely than elsewhere, partly owing to the lack of access to alcohol. Wives are rarely unfaithful to their husbands, though the same cannot be said of the men in relation to their wives, particu-

larly not during their absences from home, and married women frequently suffer greatly from jealousy.

The Greenlanders are extremely tender towards their children; chastisement is very rare, and if at all possible the wishes of the children are nearly always humoured. Education in the proper sense of the word can hardly be said to exist, even though it is one of the problems which are beginning to occupy the Greenlanders themselves. Everything considered, one rather wonders that the children are not naughtier than they really are; however, when a little older they are often wanting in respect both to their parents and to older people living in their houses who, if not actually tyrannised, are at least slighted and forgotten.

As to the morality of unmarried Greenlanders, my personal judgment is less certain than as regards the other points mentioned, because this problem is one on which it is most difficult for a clergyman to acquire first-hand knowledge, at any rate in Greenland, and also because opinions are somewhat divergent on this point.

The percentage of illegitimate children is relatively small. In the years 1913—17 it was 5 per cent, 4.6 in 1914, 5.5 in 1915, 7.5 in 1916 and 3.4 in 1917, an overwhelming percentage falling upon the three most southerly parishes. On the other hand, the recent spread of venereal diseases in several districts clearly indicates that statistics in this respect are not an altogether reliable standard. The most glaring descriptions of in chastity are, it is true, in all probability somewhat exaggerated—in this respect it is also possible to ask in such a manner that the answer is actually put into the mouth of the person questioned—but this is only what was to be expected of a people possessed of strong sexual desires like the Greenlanders and with very little opposition to overcome. In their innermost hearts the Greenlanders look upon the infringement of the sixth commandment with the greatest indulgence, and there are even people who glory in their shame, especially when the alliance contracted is with a European. Obscene discourses are commonly heard, and everything bearing upon sexual life is mentioned without any kind of shame, even in the presence of children. On the other hand, unnatural sexual intercourse is practically unknown up to the present.

In extenuation of the free sexual intercourse among Greenlanders, it may be said that living together within the close confinement of one room, where even strangers sleep on the same platforms, offers special temptations; moreover, the young people have hitherto been without the healthy counterbalance of club life and other entertainments and spiritual interests, and their teaching in this respect has been deficient. Even the best of the catechists, and those who perhaps have kept themselves morally pure, have been more or less hampered by the slackening atmosphere which surrounded them and in which they have grown up.

As mentioned above, blood-vengeance has now been abolished, and upon

the whole no case of manslaughter has been proved in this and part of the preceding century, although accusations of such have frequently been preferred, and sometimes the evidence against the persons in question has been rather compromising. Acts of violence and fights are also rare, and as a matter of course the same holds good of the ill-treatment of demented persons, to which reference has previously been made, which however is not due to anger and hatred, but to defective teaching.

As far as I am able to judge, Europeans are generally apt to make more of the thieving tendency of Greenlanders than it deserves. The narrowness of life makes the individual cases of pilfering more conspicuous, while Europeans are proportionally more frequently robbed than the Greenlanders, as they possess more than the latter—according to Greenland standards infinitely more—and the Greenlanders reason in this way that if they themselves had so much, they would not greatly mind if some of it was missing. But also—and perhaps chiefly—among themselves the Greenlanders still have much to learn by way of respect for the property of others. It is very common to “borrow” implements and other articles without the permission of the owner, and for that matter it is also difficult to make the Greenlanders realize and respect the duty of restoring property found.

The transgressions of the tongue are also difficult to overcome. A man who, in my opinion, has the most thorough knowledge of and the clearest judgment as regards conditions in Greenland, once said to me that if he were a clergyman he would frequently make this very point the subject of his sermons. Here again the narrowness of life in Greenland makes itself felt and also the lack of spiritual interests—one has nothing else to occupy oneself with, so one attacks the reputation of one's neighbour. It is terrible what one may come across in the way of malicious gossip, and if someone tells a story to the discredit of another, it is almost certain to be owing to a personal grudge. Reports, whether good or bad, frequently spread with almost incredible speed, and they grow in compass while their reliability decreases proportionally to the distance covered.

On the other hand, credit is due to the Greenlanders that their language is devoid of oaths, and if they want to swear, they must do so in Danish. They can rail with a vengeance, though their language is also lacking in actual terms of abuse, but as a rule they prefer, from a mistaken sense of courtesy, to wrap up the truths which they want to convey in a tissue so elaborate that people who are not familiar with this indirect manner of speech easily lose the point.

Alcohol is not sold freely in Greenland—this is one of the things which are greatly to the credit of the Danish Government—but the Greenlanders who hold positions under the Royal Greenland Trading Company are entitled to a certain quantity which, however, is very small. The bad habit, which in former times was very widely spread, of the Danes using gin as a

circulating medium or at any rate as something thrown in, has now almost disappeared, and as the beer, which two or three times a year is brewed at the settlements, can only be dispensed to permanent officials, it may be said that the danger of habitual drinking, with its bad hygienic and social effects has become quite minimal. Nevertheless, there are some who have the opportunity of drinking more than is good for them, and though the story so frequently told in Denmark of the glass of gin passing from mouth to mouth is pure fiction, there is the element of truth in it that, at any rate formerly, it was hardly considered shameful or undignified to get drunk. In recent years a decided change is beginning to make itself felt in this direction, and comparatively many of the younger generation do not drink alcohol at all. In one place a teetotallers' association has been formed, which may prove of importance some day when the country is opened, and it becomes more difficult to prevent the import of alcoholic drinks, but at present there are other things which it might seem more imminent and necessary to combat.

Among Christian virtues the one most highly appreciated is generosity: a "good" man in Greenlandic usually means a "generous" man, and a liberal person may be called good, even when he has very obvious shortcomings. Otherwise the virtues which appeal most strongly to the Greenlanders and strike the deepest roots among them are the passive ones, such as humbleness, gentleness and patience, these qualities being most apparent in illness or at deathbeds, and this in all probability has contributed towards making the Greenlanders more than usually apt to exaggerate the importance of the last days of a person, as compared with those which have gone before.

As regards social conditions in Greenland, the point which has been most influenced by Christianity is the position of women, although it still leaves much to be desired, and the women even now are so greatly inferior to the men that it is difficult for the young Greenlanders who have achieved a higher education to find a suitable wife. Generally speaking the view taken of woman, by herself as well as by the man, is greatly in need of being revalued, but when at the present time there seems after all a possibility of her attaining a position which to some degree is equal to that of the man, it is in the first place owing to the thoughts conveyed by the Gospel.

Otherwise social life has always been and is in part still so primitive that there has been no cause to interfere, but it must be admitted that in one respect Christianity has not had the influence which it might and ought to have had. Social organization in Greenland was originally decidedly communistic, and even though it has hardly been so ideal as described by some, and should rather be considered a kind of mutual insurance than compared to brotherly love in the Christian sense, yet it offered points of connection which might have been utilized and borne out by the spirit of Christianity. This, however, was not done; the first missionaries did not realize the

significance, and the various trading companies which were to give financial support to the mission, consciously or unconsciously, turned the trend of developments into the opposite direction, as by the distribution of families over more houses and by engaging the Greenlanders on permanent duty, thus contributing towards the creation of a social gulf between the regular employees and the sealers.

It is a curious sign of the tenacity with which the Greenlanders cling to everything based upon tradition that, in spite of all this, their conservatism is not yet extinct. In many localities, though more particularly at the smaller dwelling places where the population consists of sealers only, it is still common, particularly in times of need, to divide the seal caught into so many portions, that the man who caught it gets very little more than the others, and these communistic principles have also in part been applied to the new conditions introduced from without.

In a subsequent section it will be shown how these conditions were influenced by the religious revival.

When trying to sum up the gist of what has been said before of the state of the Church of Greenland, the picture suggesting itself is one taken from the parable of the four kinds of soil into which the sower sowed his seed. The soil for Christianity in Greenland is not like that of the wayside, nor like the good ground bringing forth a hundredfold, nor is it like that between thorns and thistles, for one cannot say that the "cares of the world" is what oppresses the Greenlanders most, or that the "deceitfulness of riches" is as yet particularly pronounced. No, it is the "stony" ground which we find in Greenland. The Word has been received quickly and is still heard with joy, but there is not much earth, and Christianity has some difficulty in striking deep roots.

But the rock may weather away and become soil, and it is the beginning of this weathering which we trust to have seen in the religious movements now to be described.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL.

There have been several approaches to religious revivals in Greenland, but they were frequently of a visionary kind and purely local. Only in this century do we encounter a revival spreading over greater parts of the country. This revival may be said to have two centres, Godthaab for South Greenland and Jacobshavn for North Greenland, though the revival of North Greenland partly originates in that of South Greenland.

The revival began in Godthaab during the winter of 1907—08. A young Greenlanders, Stephen Moller, had spent a couple of years in Denmark with

the object of training as a lithographer for the printing office in Godthaab, and, as frequently happens, he had through the contrast received a strong national impulse and was inspired with an ardent wish to help his countrymen. When he lost his first-born son his thoughts were further turned to religion: he realized that the deepest need of his people was a religious one, and the clergyman of the place brought him into contact with others, among them the chief catechist who entertained similar thoughts, or who at any rate had the qualifications of understanding him. With their assistance he started a congregation, *peqatigingniai*, which in the beginning assembled every morning for common worship and once a week for Bible readings. At first this movement was met with consternation and direct opposition, as it was considered purely visionary, but through discussions and meetings its adherents gradually succeeded in dispelling this view. The mental stir caused was very great, and nearly every day people, more particularly women, applied to the leaders for spiritual help in their distress. Before long the majority of the population in the settlement had joined this community, and wherever its members went on their journeys, they worked hard to make proselytes, several of the most zealous adherents traversing long distances with the object of attaining this purpose. Before twelve months had elapsed, similar communities had been started at all the dwelling places in the vicinity of Godthaab, and during the following years the movement also spread to most of the dwelling places of the Frederikshaab and Sukkertoppen parishes as well as to a few places in the Julianehaab parish, whereas Holsteinsborg and the two most southerly parishes were uninfluenced by it.

The movement reached North Greenland in 1912. Its beginning may be traced back to a man, who during a communion was deeply affected by the words: "He which hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ." It turned out that in Jacobshavn the soil was also ready for the seed, and a young and energetic native catechist, collaborating with the minister, succeeded in founding a congregation from which the movement spread over the whole of North Greenland, in a manner analogous to its progress in South Greenland, most strongly near the starting point of the movement, the Christianshaab and Ritenbenk parishes, in part also the Egedesminde, while here as in South Greenland the most outlying regions were more or less untouched.

The course of the revival was essentially calm and normal, and only in a single place, Ritenbenk, did visionary extravagances make themselves felt.

These congregations have gradually been organized with executive committees (for which also women are qualified) and statutes, which in all essential points are the same everywhere. As a rule the congregations meet twice a week for one Bible reading and one prayer meeting, and in summer they occasionally have common meetings comprising several dwelling places

and generally extending over a couple of days. At Godthaab there are, furthermore, winter meetings attended by delegates from the neighbourhood, and on several occasions such meetings have also been held elsewhere.

From a religious point of view the most important result of the revival is naturally that conversions took place, and that people achieved a conscious faith and the courage to profess it.

However, individual conversions, though of less frequent occurrence, were not unheard of before this religious revival, so they cannot be considered a new element introduced by the movement. As indicated by the Greenlandic name, this movement amounted to the formation of communities and the laicizing of church work, which on one hand met a latent want, and on the other gave to the work a very considerable impulse, not only directly by the greatly increased number of workers and the enrichment and renewal of the language brought about by the fresh initiative of the lay population, but also indirectly by the support and stimulation given by these communities to catechists and clergymen.

Among other effects of this religious revival may be mentioned the birth of a number of new hymns and sacred songs, most of them still according to foreign models, and the increase of the number of church-goers and communicants, the church attendance having been fairly large even before the beginning of the movement, while the Holy Communion is now no longer limited to the "official" days. Furthermore, there is an increased *tendency to read*, and particularly New Testaments are being bought in far greater numbers than formerly. Superstition and obscene conversation are said to be greatly declining in places where the movement has taken the deepest root.

Among the social effects of the religious revival, all the answers received to the schedule of questions which I sent out—which answers have been considered in the whole of the present treatise—unanimously emphasize its significance towards a revival of mutual helpfulness. Thus, there is a characteristic account of a congregational meeting, where the question was raised as to whether a change ought to be made in the manner of distributing the animals caught so that those who had borne the burden of the hunt might have greater benefit, and where an able and energetic sealer settled the matter with the following words: "As the animals I get have been given me (*viz.* by God) for the benefit of all, I rejoice whenever others get food through me, and therefore I am of opinion that this custom should not be changed."

That this helpfulness does not merely consist in empty phrases appears, among other things, from the fact that there are several places where the assistance given by the communities has contributed to render superfluous any public help to the poor of the parish. Of other tasks taken up by the communities may be mentioned the visiting of the sick and sewing associations for the clothing of orphans; while plans for establishing a nursing home for orphans are also being formed. Besides, money is collected for various

other purposes, as for the mission at Cape York, meeting houses, etc., and the sums given are not inconsiderable judging by conditions in Greenland, and on an average they are better administrated than one might expect; thus the communities of several smaller dwelling places in the neighbourhood of Godthaab have more than two hundred kroner deposited in the savings bank as a reserve fund.

As a result of the fellow-feeling created by the religious revival, may still be mentioned the gatherings which in many places are held about Christmas, and to which the Danes residing at the dwelling place are invited.

It is a general rule that "moral renovation always lies behind religious change." So also, with those awakened in Greenland, it is the ethical strengthening of the Christian life which proves the difficulty, and this, in its turn, is most glaring as regards sexual matters. There is *some* progress to be traced in this respect where the movement has been strongest and struck the deepest roots, but, on the other hand, it cannot be concealed that the spread of venereal diseases, in such parts where these have been introduced after the religious revival, has been very marked, also among the members of the communities.

There is no doubt that this religious movement has culminated, at any rate for the present; of late years one hardly ever hears of new members or of the formation of communities in new places; almost everywhere the number of members has decreased, and in a few places the communities have been entirely dissolved. In so far as this means a sifting of individuals, there is no cause for regret, for when, as has actually happened, there have been places where the *whole* population have joined the revival, one need not be an opponent to doubt the movement having gone equally deep with all, and in the places where the communities have been dissolved it was said, before the reaction reached a climax, that the motive for joining the communities chiefly seems to have been the imitative impulse and the wish not to be inferior to others. Neither does the reaction mean that the effects of the movement have disappeared. There is a greater susceptibility and a stronger desire for religious instruction than before the religious revival, also in circles not directly influenced by it, and in the communities there is still a nucleus of staunch and faithful followers.¹

I remember having read a remark, made I think by Christians in Japan, that even though Christianity were turned out of Europe, it would be brought back from the East. No Greenlander would ever think of saying

¹ Since the above was written there has been a renewal and an intensification of the religious movement at Godthaab, and a new revival, especially among the younger generations, at Nanortalik.

such a thing. With the fear of big words so characteristic of his race, he would rather say, if asked for his opinion on the activity on the Greenland Church during the two hundred years: "We are the lowest of all congregations." Neither has the Danish Church any reason to feel proud of her relation to Greenland. But for all that both congregations have much to be thankful for; they can unite, and in the year of the Jubilee they did unite in the text which was the very first on which Hans Egede preached in Greenland, taken from Psalm 117: "O praise the Lord, all ye nations; praise him, all ye people. For his merciful kindness is great toward us; and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Praise ye the Lord."

As an untrained catechist put it:

"Christianity has become to us an inestimable inheritance."

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THE HISTORY OF THE MISSION

BY

REV. H. OSTERMANN

I. THE APOSTLE OF GREENLAND.

The history of the Greenland mission begins in a poor rectory in northern Norway. On one of the Lofoten islands, Vaagan, surrounded by skerries and naked rocks and in full view of the grandeur of the open Northern Sea, lived, from 1707 to 1718, the young clergyman, Hans Povelsen Egede (born on January 31st 1686 in the vogtship of Senjen, Harstad) with his wife Gertrud Nielsdatter Rasch, who was thirteen years his senior. In the brain and heart of this young clergyman the idea of the Greenland mission was conceived.

Hans Egede was, in an exceptional degree, equipped with the qualities necessary for the carrying out of this task, which after the resumption of the navigation of Greenland, especially from Holland and Bergen, lay ready to hand there. Born and bred in a region, the inclemency of which was almost as great as that of Greenland, in natural surroundings which in many respects resembled those of our northernmost colony, and where a very great measure of hardiness, frugality, enterprise and perseverance was required in order to make existence humanly tolerable, he was physically extremely well fitted for his self-imposed task. And not less so from a moral point of view. With a suitable mixture of imagination and adventurousness, with unflinching perseverance and an indomitable courage, he was, on the one hand, a born ruler of men, and on the other possessed of a rare strength of mind and purpose. The mental characteristics which were bound up with these virtues and, in certain cases, might be a drawback towards the accomplishment of such a plan—impatience at opposition which at times might almost lead to violence, a self-willed obstinacy which frequently made itself felt in the wrong places and rendered him extremely unsusceptible to influence—had ample opportunity of being smoothed down and softened during the thirteen long and arduous years which were destined to elapse before he attained so far as to be within sight of the practical solution of his task. Finally, he was possessed of a warm enthusiasm, which was far beyond the average, a freedom from prejudice in which he was ahead of most of his contemporaries, and first

and foremost a simple and unsophisticated, yet ardent and sincere faith, a fervid zeal for the cause of the Kingdom of Heaven and an unbounded confidence in God.

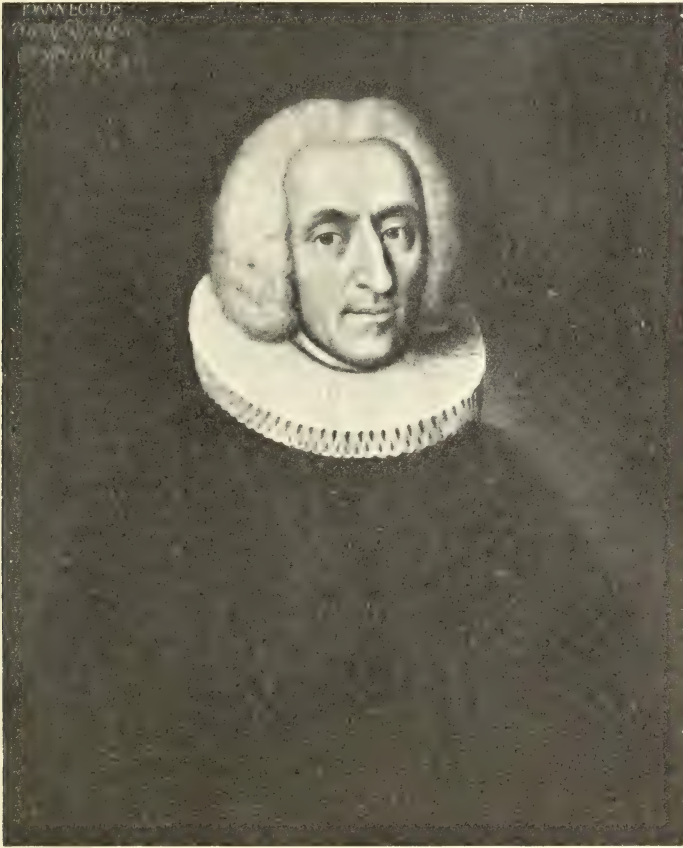
Nevertheless it was not *a priori* to be expected that Hans Egede should feel the call to take up this very task. Neither colonization nor missionary zeal were among the pronounced tendencies of the age, and even though voices to this effect began to make themselves heard in various protestant countries, it is greatly to be wondered at that the man who set about it in real earnest was one who lived so far from all communication with the movements of his day.

It can hardly be proved that during his one year and a half of studies at the University of Copenhagen (1704 to 1705) Hans Egede received impulses which now, when he went to live in solitude and isolation, came to fruition in an ardent zeal for missionary work among the heathen, even though it is probable that he may have been present at the consecration of Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, who in November 1705 were sent out to Tranquebar as missionaries.

But of how his interest was roused for *Greenland* as a missionary field, he himself gives an ample and detailed account. When one day in October 1708, he took his accustomed evening walk along the rocky coast of his home-stead, he suddenly came to think of an old description of Norway which he had read and which contained an account of the Norsemen in Greenland, their life and occupations, their settlements, churches and monasteries, and the desire arose in him to learn how they were now faring. From then onwards this thought never left him in peace, and in the spring of 1709 he entered into communication with his brother-in-law Niels Rasch, a ship's mate at Bergen who had also sailed to Greenland, and asked him for information about that country, in so far as he himself knew or had been informed by others. The account of his brother-in-law was to the effect that the people who now lived on the west coast of Greenland were "savages," whereas the east coast where the old Norsemen were generally supposed to have lived, was inaccessible owing to masses of drift ice, and also that "the best situation" was in about lat. 64° N.

Upon hearing these accounts Hans Egede was seized by a heart-felt commiseration for the miserable state of these poor people, who had formerly been Christians and "enlightened in the Christian faith, but who now for lack of teachers and instruction had once more fallen into heathen blindness and savagery. I therefore wished with all my heart that my circumstances had been different; then I would have held it my highest bliss and joy again to preach the Christian faith to them, and it seemed to me that the obligation was all the greater, inasmuch as they, as has been reported above, had at one time been Christians, being also people of Norwegian descent and living in a country subject to the Norwegian Crown."

Then came a time of "great doubt and disturbance of mind" when he tried to consider the matter from all aspects. But when at the same time difficulties arose regarding his office—difficulties which were in part caused by his youthful precipitancy—he determined, in the summer of 1710, to send in a well substantiated and detailed memorial, which is not preserved, on the conversion and enlightenment of the Greenlanders. This memorial



Hans Egede.

he sent out in two copies, one to Bishop Krag in Drontheim, his own bishop, and, as the sailings to Greenland took place from Bergen, one to Bishop Randulf of that city. And as he thought that they would probably not pay great attention to his memorial, unless he himself offered to go to Greenland, he did so resolutely, it being at that time merely his idea to take passage by one of the trading vessels and to spend a summer in Greenland in order to investigate and get into touch with the population. Bishop Randulf, who was a man of about eighty years of age, refused to have anything to do with the plan, which, however, he highly praised, but he protested that the instruction

of the natives could not be expected to bear fruit, as Egede did not understand the "tongue of these barbarians." Bishop Krag, on the other hand, found the proposal fully justified "both by the Scripture and the thoughts and yearnings of learned men," and he advised Egede to prevail upon the two Bergen merchants, in whose vessels he intended to undertake the summer journey, to leave traders in the country, thus preparing the road for further progress.

For a time Egede then rested content with the thought that both bishops would recommend the matter to King Frederik IV. However, his plans were beginning to be known, and various people who only saw them as an expression of morbid fanaticism brought their influence to bear upon those nearest to him, and especially upon his wife, and between them they finally persuaded him to give up his enterprise. But once more the call of God came to him, and as at the same time renewed difficulties arose regarding his office, his wife at last came to look upon it as the hand of Providence, and declared herself willing "to follow him, like a faithful Sarah, wherever he went." This made him so happy that he almost regarded his object as attained and henceforth took no great count of whatever was going to happen to him.

He addressed to the King "a proposal regarding the conversion of the poor miserable Greenlanders", a very exhaustive document dated Vaagan December 21st, 1711, quoting in part numerous scriptures which enjoined the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen, and partly a number of observations made to the same effect by contemporary German protestant divines, particularly Spener and others of the same opinions, all in support of his missionary project. Here Egede on principle declares himself a follower of missionary work, maintaining the *absolute duty* of Christianity to preach the word, thus breaking away entirely from the old orthodox view. It is, however, characteristic that while, on the one hand, he seems to realize that it was a question of an actual mission to the heathen, in so far as he calls the Greenlanders "these poor and savage heathen," he is never able to abandon his first thought entirely, and he mentions, as it were in the same breath, that *their fathers in the olden times*, in the days of papacy, as told by historians, *have heard a very little of the Christian faith*, which however since then is entirely extinct owing to the lack of teachers and instructors."

Owing to the war between Denmark-Norway and Sweden it was, however, for the time being impossible to find a hearing or to provide the necessary funds for the carrying out of the project. The well substantiated proposal was laid aside among other matters awaiting decision, and Egede was told to "have patience until there was some improvement in the present difficult times and circumstances." There can be no doubt that this, to a certain extent, became fatal to the Greenland mission, for Hans Egede at that time was only twenty-five years of age and would have had much less

difficulty in learning the hard Eskimo tongue than he had ten years later. However, there was nothing to be done, except to wait patiently, and patience was a virtue which he learned to practise to the full.

According as the rumour of Hans Egede's plans spread to wider and wider circles, they roused opposition as well as derision, indeed, there were some who did not hesitate to assign selfish motives to him. Therefore, in 1715, he published an "Apologia" for his plan, containing a detailed and scriptural confutation of all protests and accusations. And as peace seemed to be as far off as ever, he at last considered it right to take a decisive step, in order to get nearer to his goal. In the hope that by his personal presence at Bergen and Copenhagen he might effect what he had not been able to obtain by all his proposals and plans, he resigned his charge about the end of 1717. It was an extremely adventurous resolve which he took, for, as he says himself, it was in reality "to renounce and set aside his own temporal well-being and that of his family." As the hour drew near, when he was to say good-bye to his friends and relatives as well as his parishioners, he was for a time seized with doubt and depression, and then it was his wife who must raise his courage by representing to him his zeal and resolution and reminding him of the dispensation of God until that day.

After an affecting leave-taking with Vaagan, Hans Egede and his family, in July 1718, moved to Bergen, where they settled for the time being. Here his plan caused a great stir and was judged in a very different manner. Still, he did not, for some time, succeed in furthering his undertaking. The Greenland trade had been abandoned several years ago, because it had proved impossible to compete with the Dutch, and at any rate as long as the war lasted no merchant would venture to equip a vessel for that journey. At last, however, some of the most prominent merchants of the town half promised him that when the war was over, they would engage to make the attempt, provided the King promised assistance.

Egede now realized that he must make a personal appeal to the King, and so in the spring of 1719 he left for Copenhagen. The death of Karl XII and the resulting peace had at last removed the difficulties from his path, but even then some time was to elapse, before the matter could be regarded as settled. When he arrived in Copenhagen the King was out of town, and he consequently redrafted his detailed plan for carrying on missionary and colonizing work in Greenland, addressing it to the Mission College (*collegium de cursu evangelii promovendo*) which had been founded in 1714. Also in his memorial he takes it for granted, and justifies his plan by this argument that the Greenlanders "are a nation descended from ourselves and this kingdom," who for lack of teachers and instruction and because of their long isolation from other Christian nations have been lost to Christianity. The Mission College approved of the plan, and when the King returned, he received Hans Egede and declared himself to be greatly interested in his

undertaking. For that matter he remained the friend of Hans Egede from that day onwards.

Then Hans Egede returned to Bergen where after several vain attempts he got together the "best intentioned and most Christian men of the town" for a meeting and—by subscribing 300 rigsdaler which constituted his whole fortune—he finally succeeded in establishing the "Bergenske Kompagni" which with a small capital, barely 10,000 rigsdaler, was to venture on the serious undertaking of colonizing Greenland and preaching the Gospel to the population.

This accomplished, preparations began at once. For Hans Egede the essential thing was to strike while the iron was hot; he was already thirty-five years of age and could not wait any longer. Three small vessels were purchased as well as provisions and articles of trade; the material for the necessary dwelling-houses and provision sheds was prepared, and on March 15th, 1721, the King appointed him missionary to Greenland with a salary of 300 rigsdaler a year. Instructions were drawn up and a "council" appointed, consisting of Hans Egede as president, the trader, the captain, the mate and three of the crew of the vessel which was to carry Hans Egede to Greenland and spend the winter there. The leader of the enterprise was, naturally, Hans Egede, and on May 3rd, 1721, the departure from Bergen took place in the vessel "Haabet" (i. e. the hope).

Thus through the energy and perseverance of Hans Egede, the Greenland Mission had become a fact, it is true in an indissoluble and far from felicitous connection with a commercial enterprise, but still a fact; and though it was rather a State enterprise—Hans Egede was appointed by the King and was to a certain extent subordinate to the Bishop of Bergen—and not a congregational undertaking, which under present conditions was neither to be expected nor to be hoped for, it was still a mission.

After a long journey, which towards the end was fraught with dangers, the vessel "Haabet" on July 3rd, 1721, anchored in a good harbour half a mile north of the mouth of Godthaab Fiord which was called "Haabets Havn" or the "Harbour of Hope." As it lay at one of the outer islands, Hans Egede at once realized that it was not a suitable situation for the station, but "for the still remaining short summer period and also with a view to the accompanying galliot" which was to be made ready for the home journey, it was decided to take up winter quarters there, and so on July 9th Hans Egede and his followers began to build a dwelling of turf and stone, panelled on the inside with boards. On August 31st the building was finished, and as it happened to be a Sunday (the twelfth after Trinity) the first sermon in this country was preached on the day of inauguration, and after the service the

instruction was read. The number of people wintering in the place was in the first year forty-six, but even though they became fewer during the following years, there was only the barest accomodation for them in the settlement building, there being merely three rooms of which only two had the walls covered with boards. In one of these the Egede family—husband, wife and four children—lived for seven years. Already in 1725 it is said that the house was not tight, and in rainy weather water was apt to come through.

Hans Egede had reached the goal of his long endeavour, and the actual missionary work could now begin. As the knowledge possessed of Greenland in those days was by no means inconsiderable, which knowledge Hans Egede must have shared, it is all the more strange that he should have been ignorant of the fact that the people he would meet there, “in about lat. 64° N.” were *not* Norsemen or the descendants of Norsemen, but an entirely foreign people with an entirely foreign culture and an entirely foreign language. Still, one cannot get away from his own suppositions which, as mentioned above, are expressly stated in all his memorials and proposals, even the very last. in which it is said that “the Greenlanders are descended from us and this kingdom,” and that their remote ancestors had been Christians, while it is also beyond a doubt that he died firmly believing that there were still descendants of the old Norsemen in Greenland. It was *inter alia* with the object of finding the latter that, in 1723, he undertook his great voyage towards the south, where he also intended to attempt to penetrate as far as the east coast.

Therefore, it seems an almost foregone conclusion that in spite of everything Hans Egede had expected and hoped that the language of “these barbarians” would not be too remote from the European tongues, nor their religious ideas entirely devoid of Christian notions which might form, as it were, a basis for his preaching. As to the former he was immediately on his arrival disabused of his error, and as to the latter his inability to discuss things exhaustively with the natives for several years kept him from finding the connecting points which, as a matter of fact, existed in the old religion of the Greenlanders. That he used them according as he gradually realized their existence appears from his “Memorials to Missionaries” from 1739, in which he lays great stress on this very fact and gives newly arrived missionaries detailed instructions as to the use they should make of it as points of departure and connection for the preaching of the Gospel.

For the time being his aim would be to learn so much of their language that he would be able to hold some sort of converse with them, but here he met with many difficulties. On the arrival of the vessel, there had been a large concourse of people who flocked to see the strangers. When their first shyness had worn off, they were extremely helpful and rendered valuable assistance in the construction of the house, while in all probability they also followed the daily worship of the Europeans with curiosity and attention.

Their behaviour caused Hans Egede to send back letters with the returning vessels, in which he spoke hopefully of their "desire of the worship of the true God, and to obtain enlightenment of the Holy Gospel," for which reason the College, already in the following year, expected to receive news of several conversions. In this, however, they were disappointed. For when the Greenlanders saw that it was not, as they believed, a vessel which the strangers were building, but a house, and that they thus intended to winter there, they first tried to frighten them off by hinting that the winter was very dark and severe, and as they did not succeed, they withdrew altogether. During the first winter no Eskimos lived in the neighbourhood of the settlement, and the strangers were at first met with some distrust and reserve. Until in the autumn the settlement was, however, constantly visited by passers-by, and at the same time trading expeditions were undertaken to various places in the neighbourhood, on all of which occasions Hans Egede tried to learn as much as possible of the vernacular, though naturally to no great purpose. During the following years the distrust of the Greenlanders gradually wore away, and they approached the settlement. In the summer many people pitched their tents in the neighbourhood, and already the following winter a fair number lived on the island of the settlers, a few kilometres from their houses. Hans Egede also extended his voyages to wider and wider circles so that after a few years had elapsed, he had traversed the coast from a short distance north of Cape Farewell to south of Holsteinsborg. He never hesitated to live in the houses and tents of the natives, although these stays were always extremely unpleasant to him, and here he carefully noted down every word of their language which he was able to grasp. His young sons Poul and Niels, who were quicker at learning the language, had to do duty as interpreters and instructors, and he always had Eskimo boys in his house, with the dual object of *himself* learning the Greenlandic language from them, and of training *them* as instructors for their countrymen. In the course of a few years he attained as great proficiency in making himself understood and in conversing with the native population, as was at all possible for a man who no longer had the perfectibility of youth.

From the beginning the missionary work chiefly consisted of Egede, and later his assistants, travelling about among the Greenlanders, as a rule accompanied by one of his sons and staying for a few days, sometimes also longer, at the different dwelling places where they "instructed" the population. Until they had progressed so far as to be able to carry on freer conversation, this instruction was extremely primitive, *viz.* by showing some pictures from the Bible, drawn and coloured by Poul Egede, with an explanation laboriously prepared beforehand and extremely deficient and full of mistakes, and some questions which the Greenlanders answered according as they began to realize the meaning of what was represented to them.

When the linguistic proficiency of the missionaries improved, the instruction also naturally became better and more comprehensive, but the *method* remained essentially the same. In 1730 Hans Egede describes his "manner and method" in the following words: "Whenever I spent a night in one of their houses, I first took the children before me and catechised them, then also the old people and the adults. The same instruction I repeated in the morning before I left that house for another." This "method" for that matter descended to his successors, through several generations; indeed, it lasted until far into the 19th century, though naturally with the essential difference that it was now employed towards people who were already *Christians*.

One cannot help admiring the energy with which this missionary work was carried on. Numerous were the arduous journeys undertaken by the missionaries, especially in the early period—journeys on foot, over land in deep snow, in storms and constant cold, and on sea in open boats and all sorts of weather, and practically at all seasons. Frequently they were in danger of their lives when the boats capsized or they stranded on uninhabited islands. The stays in the summer tents of the Greenlanders might be unpleasant enough, owing to the blood and the dirt accumulating in and around them, but this was nothing as compared with staying in the winter houses, where the fifty or more naked people, the ten to twenty blubber lamps, over which were hung wet skin clothes, the urine tubs and half-decayed remnants of food produced an atmosphere which cannot be described and which even we, who know something of the same in present day Greenland, particularly from remote dwelling places, are hardly able to realize, but which often made the missionaries vomit. The endurance of this kind of existence required an unparalleled self-abnegation, and this quality not only the Egedes, but most of the old Greenland missionaries possessed to a degree for which a later period has hardly given them sufficient credit.

The best and most regular instruction, however, was received by the Greenlanders living in the Godthaab region, and particularly by those who spent several winters at or in the neighbourhood of the settlement. They were generally very willing to receive it, and most of them also made serious endeavours to learn. Naturally it was not long before the *angákoqs*, until then the spiritual leaders of the population, began to realize that here was something which threatened to destroy traditional customs and manners, and they practised their usual ceremonies or acts towards conjuring it. In the beginning Egede was present at several of these performances, without however catching their drift. But when he realized what they meant, he—and other missionaries after him—naturally tried to counteract them, and in these attempts he was, as a rule, apparently successful, as people were afraid of losing favour with the much beloved missionaries, and the *angákoqs* themselves were quite ready to admit that they "knew nothing." Thus

Hans Egede met with very little actual opposition, and the only time when an attempt was made in this direction, its object was rather the trade than the mission, and it was stifled at birth.

But, on the other hand, it was for a long time impossible to trace any deeper influence exercised by the Gospel on the minds of the Greenlanders generally. Particularly during the early years Egede frequently complains of the "coldness" of the Greenlanders and says that many who "have been desirous of hearing the word of God" have later on got tired of hearing more, pretending that they had heard it so often and now knew it all. Sometimes they also raised rationalistic protests, or even satirized over some of the stories of the Bible. As late as 1735 Poul Egede was obliged to listen to remarks like the following: "I am of a gentle disposition, therefore I believe all you have said."

Still, others gradually began to show signs of a deeper understanding, and this was partly due to the personalities of the missionaries, partly to other causes. On several occasions Egede succeeded, by loving kindness and comforting words, in getting into intimate touch with people at such times as they were most susceptible, for instance, when they were ill or had suffered losses by death; and sometimes he also had the good luck to practice successful medical treatment, as for instance when, on his great journey towards the south in 1723, he washed the eyes of a blind man with brandy, after having told him that only God's son could cure him; the man recovered his sight, and from that day onwards he firmly believed in Jesus, as he gratefully and joyfully told Hans Egede when he met him thirteen years afterwards.

But owing to the "coldness" which he encountered among most of the Greenlanders, it was long before Egede ventured to take the serious step of *solemnizing baptism*. The first baptism took place on January 24th, 1724: the father of a dying child, an *angákoq*, earnestly begged Egede to baptize it, since Egede himself had said that otherwise it could not be saved. Later on he baptized several other children, though only such as lived in the neighbourhood of the settlement, and to whom he expected to be able to impart instruction. Adults he rarely baptized—the first instance occurring on January 18th, 1728—because in their case he not only demanded a thorough knowledge of the Christian doctrine, but also proofs of a sincere faith and conversion of the heart, manifesting itself in their external manner of living for several years.

This, in conjunction with external circumstances which are to be reported elsewhere, finally caused Egede to take steps towards realizing a plan, which he had been considering for a long time, and which was approved by the Mission College (in a letter of May 11th, 1730), provided that it was not "desired for reasons of superstition." The plan consisted in baptizing "the small children of those who have permanent dwellings in our neighbourhood

and to whom it is always possible to administer instruction in the word of God, and who further approve of the true religion, and are willing to learn and lead outwardly decent lives."

That this missionary practice had its drawbacks and was rather a circuitous one is beyond a doubt, but it is just as certain that it contributed towards rousing the Greenlanders from their "coldness" and thus, in the end, attained its object. The parents were very eager to have their children baptized; a mother whose two children were baptized brought her new-born babe to Hans Egede, saying that "like the others she desired it to come to the Kingdom of Heaven." The grown-ups were always present at these baptisms and regarded them with great devotion, and on such occasions Hans Egede was frequently confronted with the question: why would he not baptize them "as they believed everything whatsoever I told them." He generally answered that he would baptize them as soon as they had grasped sufficient of "our Christian doctrine" and shown that they lived accordingly. With which answer they declared themselves satisfied and promised that they would endeavour to learn. The few adults or half-grown persons who were baptized seem to have been very serious in their desire to become Christians; it is said of a boy and a girl, baptized on March 3rd, 1730, "that during the baptismal ceremony they showed great devotion, particularly the boy who with many tears professed his contrition."

In the course of a few years so many were baptized that Hans Egede, in his letter of July 20th, 1731, addressed to Christian VI and petitioning him not to relinquish the mission, could say that "two hundred families in the neighbourhood approve our Christian faith," and more than a hundred of their children have been baptized "besides those at the settlements." And much later in the history of the mission there came a dark period when drastic reductions of the staff, in connection with lack of interest and understanding among the authorities at home, made zealous missionaries wish for the resumption of the old system.

The drawbacks, hardships and privations attending life in Greenland, miserable dwellings, difficulties with the frequently intractable colonists and the whole of the restless wandering existence, was by no means the greatest of the hardships which Hans Egede had to bear, and he hardly even considered them as such, in comparison with the anxieties, speculations and efforts which it cost him to keep the work going. It was he alone who had raised the whole fabric, and it was he alone who was able to prevent it from collapsing. On several occasions the settlement was threatened with ruin because of shipwreck and the vessels staying away, and this was particularly the case in 1722 and 1726. The financial return of the trade was very small,

and in 1726 the "Bergenske Kompagni", with great sacrifice, was forced to suspend operations. The King then loyally came to the assistance of the mission, but the practical measures taken in order to colonize the country proved very unsatisfactory.

In 1728 as many as five ships were fitted out, with great quantities of provisions, merchandise and building material. These vessels were intended for the transport of a considerable number of people, among others soldiers, some of them with wives and children, who were to form a "garrison" for the new colonists, and, what was by far the worst, ten males and as many females who had been taken from houses of correction and married by the casting of lots. The whole of this batch which was accompanied by two new missionaries, was sent out with the object of "peopling the country," and this was the only thing done to benefit the mission; otherwise the interests of the latter were entirely thrown into the shade by those of trade.

Luckily for Greenland, however, most of these measures were doomed to failure. In the course of the summer the settlement "Haabet" was removed to the mainland, the present Godthaab. Dissatisfaction soon arose, and quarrels and strife among the rough lot of which the new colonists largely consisted; the dissatisfaction grew, at last almost breaking into open mutiny, and for all of these troubles the new-comers blamed Hans Egede, even threatening his life as the presumable "principal cause" of their having been brought to Greenland. The "council" constantly had to assemble in order to hold inquiries, and the officers were obliged to mount their lodging with guns, and to take turns in keeping guard during the night, for the soldiers could no longer be trusted. Things would undoubtedly have come to a very serious pass, if most of the settlers had not fallen ill with scurvy. In the winter 1728 to 1729 no less than forty Europeans died, among them all the prisoners, with the exception of one couple, who "lived decently together and were the only ones of all this rabble to return to Copenhagen" (Poul Egede).

The whole of this new establishment was by no means to the benefit of the mission. The immoral and reckless behaviour of the colonists greatly shocked the Greenlanders, most of whom were rather to be regarded as a kind of catechumens, and there is no doubt that it became a serious obstacle to the Gospel striking root in them, and particularly to its becoming a power in their lives. The affairs of the settlement occupied Egede, so that he was unable to go out to the dwelling places, while the greater stress which was now put on the furthering of trade frequently caused him to be in want of vessels for this purpose. His helpers were still too little familiar with the Greenlandic language to be of much assistance to him; so he naturally went out as often as possible, frequently sending as a catechist his pupil of several years standing, the baptized boy Frederik Christian, and also his son Niels was despatched on the same errand. But the Greenlanders, particularly

those who lived on Haabets Ø, constantly complained that they now received much less instruction than formerly.

In 1729 a new settlement, Nepisene, was established in the Holsteinsborg Fiord. In the same place there had been an establishment from 1724 to 1725, but it had not been possible to maintain it, and it was subsequently destroyed by Dutch trading vessels. Now one of the newly arrived missionaries was moved there, and he was well received by the Greenlanders, some of whom were baptized. But while on a visit there in May, 1731, Hans Egede learned that King Frederik IV had died, and shortly afterwards he received an order from the new King to the effect that not only the latest measures but also the whole of the colonization work were to be given up. The disappointment and grief felt by Hans Egede and his wife at this piece of news can easily be imagined, though at the same time they were greatly comforted by the native population, who, by their fear of losing them, clearly showed how strong was the hold of the Gospel on them in spite of their apparent "coldness."

This made Egede take the heroic resolution of staying in Greenland, at any rate for a year after the abandonment of the settlements, and this in turn, after long negotiations, caused the missionary and colonizing work to be resumed as a private enterprise, but by the Copenhagen merchant Jacob Severin with the support of the Crown. (For further particulars see the *History of the Trade and Colonization*, pp. 102—114.)

In the meantime Egede had continued his activity among the Greenlanders, assisted by his son Niels, who acted both as a missionary and a trader, but owing to the uncertain future of the mission he did not dare to continue baptizing the children of the natives.

As soon as he was sure of the continuation of the mission, he resumed his former practice and baptized a number of children, whose parents wished it and themselves received instruction in Christianity. But in the summer of 1734 a dreadful epidemic of small-pox broke out, which for a time threatened the whole undertaking with destruction. The epidemic had been brought back by a Greenlander returning from Denmark, and it lasted from the end of August 1733 to June 1734, spread over a distance of 40—80 miles north and south of the settlement and, according to the statement of Hans Egede, carried away between two and three thousand individuals. Of the more than two hundred families of the Godthaab Fiord hardly thirty remained; even in the settlement more than fifty individuals died, and only few of those infected recovered. The only ray of light in all this misfortune was that it proved how great was the fruit of Egede's indefatigable and, as it frequently seemed, fruitless efforts, and in how many hearts the Gospel had struck root. Hans Egede and Gertrud Rasch were of the greatest comfort to the Greenlanders in those days, received the sick people who from all

quarters flocked to their house, nursing and solacing them and rendering them all the assistance in their power.

This calamity which, at a blow, destroyed nearly all that had been attained, hit Hans Egede all the harder because in his sensitive conscientiousness he ascribed to himself part of the blame, because he had remained instead of leaving the country in 1731, in obedience to the order of the King. A time of great mental tribulation followed, and this in connection with his anxiety for the future of the mission "aroused in him a desire to work at an undertaking from which no profit might be expected." And as he thought that he might do more towards furthering the cause of the mission in Denmark than by staying where he was, he resolved, in 1734, to resign his charge.

A contributory cause was, beyond a doubt, that he now saw *his* missionary work in danger of being crossed by another with which he could not fully sympathize.

In 1731 Hans Egede had wished that his son Poul, who studied in Copenhagen, might be sent to his assistance as soon as possible. As the son was unwilling to leave the University without having obtained a degree, this plan fell through for the time being. But in 1733 three other missionary assistants were sent out, without Egede having expressed any desire to this effect or, indeed, knowing anything of it, *viz.* the Herrnhutian artisans, Chr. David and Mathæus and Christian Stach. They were sent out with the approval of the Danish King by the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut and Count Zinzendorf, although it was against the principles of the latter to take up missionary work, where such a work had already been commenced. They had received orders to place themselves at the disposal of Hans Egede, but instead of that they immediately started an independent missionary movement, settling a few kilometres from Godthaab, and it is impossible to trace any attempt at collaboration on their part. On the other hand, the attitude of Egede was entirely correct. Although he could not help feeling that they did not desire to have anything to do with him, he readily taught them all the Greenlandic he knew—an extremely arduous task, as they had no idea whatsoever of grammar or linguistic studies. As he desired to arrive at a clear understanding of their relation to the Lutheran doctrines, and as it proved impossible to do this orally, partly because they gave evasive and obscure answers, and partly because they did not know Danish and he had difficulty in speaking German, he kindly invited them to a discussion in writing. This he accomplished with great patience and dignity, although the discussion filled 390 closely written quarto pages, and on the part of Chr. David—who as the leader of the Brethren was the one to carry on the discussion—degenerated into entirely unfounded accusations against Egede and a misplaced attempt at converting him to "the Christian faith." In the same manner David and his colleagues in their letters to Europe

never hesitated to call Egede "a natural unconverted pastor", a "miserable householder" and the like.

In 1734 Poul Egede returned to Greenland as an ordained missionary, to the great joy of his father and the Greenlanders, who received him with enthusiasm and flocked to hear him; also the population of Godthaab Fiord showed the greatest devotion and earnestness which Hans Egede had as yet seen among them. But neither this nor the great sorrow which they evinced at their imminent separation from him altered his resolution of going home. In 1735 he received permission to do so, but for a time he was detained by the state of his wife's health. The strenuous efforts on her part during the small-pox epidemic had undermined her strength, and she died on December 21st, 1735. "The praise and approval which I am able to give her," Egede himself says, "do not reach the height which her piety and Christian virtues deserved."

There was now nothing to detain him, and in 1736 he left Greenland, taking with him the body of his wife, which he wanted to bury in Denmark. After his return he handed in a proposal to the Mission College; this proposal which dealt with the organization of the missionary work in Greenland was in 1737 subjected to the College, and a "Greenland Seminary" was established in Copenhagen, where future clergymen and teachers were to be instructed. Hans Egede was made the inspector and adviser of the College; in 1740 he was appointed titular Bishop of Greenland, after having refused several offers from his native country, among others the Bishopric of Drontheim, his refusal being dictated by his desire to devote all his strength to the mission. In 1747 he retired, and on November 5th, 1758, he died at Stubbekøbing.

Hans Egede's writings are: "*Det gamle Grønlands nye Perlustration*" (1729 and 1741), which has been translated into English. "*A Description of Greenland*" (London 1745) and into French (1763), as well as "*Omstændelig og udforlig Relation om den grønlandske Missions Begyndelse*" (1738). In Greenlandic he published ABC or a first primer (1739) and "*Elementa Fidei Christianæ*" (1742).

It is hardly possible to exaggerate Hans Egede's importance to Greenland, its existence as a Danish country being indissolubly bound up with him.

He was its colonizer in the proper sense of the word: from the beginning the chief direction was entirely in his hands, and during the first seven years the responsibility rested exclusively with him; he was the soul of the undertaking and had to supervise everything relating to colonization, trade, work, hunting, fishing etc. And as the mission was so dependent upon the flourishing of trade, he worked very eagerly to further the latter, undertook many and long voyages of inspection and elaborated plans of new settlements, better management and the like. The colonization in years to come was essentially carried on in accordance with the principles laid down by him.

Thus he also was the first and, to a certain extent, the most important traveller and explorer within the more recent history of Greenland. Not only did his description of Greenland and the Greenlanders for more than a hundred years remain the principal source of knowledge of the country, but he also found both the vanished Norse settlements, although he died in the belief that the eastern settlement lay on the east coast. And in his eagerness for the rediscovery of this settlement he indicated, with a certainty amounting to genius, the means which at last came to lead to the exploration of the east coast, *viz.* expeditions by women's boats.

Still, it was as the "Apostle of Greenland" that Hans Egede came to be of the greatest importance in the history of that country. This he hardly would have admitted himself. For his farewell sermon he chose as his text the melancholy words of Isaiah: "I have laboured in vain and devoured my strength for nothing," as he says himself, moved by "the poor result of my well-meant intention to further the cause of my God."

Also his Moravian colleagues denied that his work was of any value, maintaining that he "had not led a single soul to Christ, nor imparted to the Greenlanders even a notion of anything belonging to Christianity."

It is true that, statistically, the results obtained by Egede were rather meagre. In 1743 only eighteen persons are known to have been baptized by him, and even when taking into account the number of people carried away by the small-pox epidemic, it is indeed a very low figure.

This is due to several causes. The offence given by the bad behaviour of the colonizers under him must surely bear part of the blame, as also Egede's defective knowledge of the language of the Greenlanders. He never learnt to speak it fluently, and it was always very difficult for him to express himself in it. He frequently had to have recourse to the introduction of Danish words for ideas which he could not express in the vernacular, and this gave rise to many misunderstandings, which caused difficulties for him and his successors.

But the deepest-lying cause was undoubtedly the "coldness" of the Greenlanders, which has been mentioned above. "For," says Poul Egede in 1737, "if it were only a question of obtaining their mere consent, such as the Catholic missionaries in India seem to deem sufficient, there would indeed not be the Greenlanders who were not willing to be baptized"—especially if they were permitted to keep on believing in their *angákoqs*. Therefore, one cannot blame Hans Egede for hesitating to baptize people and demanding that they should first have received thorough Christian instruction. In this respect the Danish mission has faithfully followed his example right up to Angmagssalik and Cape York, and by all who know Greenland, his practice will, in all probability, be considered the right one.

However, the value of the missionary work of Hans Egede can hardly be measured by the externally meagre result, as in that case the judgment

pronounced would be entirely wrong. He *became* in fact the "Apostle of Greenland." Not only is there, in spite of all "coldness," manifold evidence of "especial devotion and earnestness," the effect and preparation of the spirit of God "with a desire for the good, fruitfulness and improvement of their minds and customs." But the indirect influence of the pioneering work of Hans Egede extends very far. On his journeys and particularly through the wanderings of the Greenlanders, he got into touch with practically the whole of the population from Cape Farewell to Disko, and he preached the Gospel to them, in most cases more than once. And wherever they went they retold what he had said, to such an extent that he became known by the name of the "speaker," and from all parts of the country he received many requests to come there. But first and foremost his personality and loving, self-sacrificing ways left on the Greenlanders an indelible impression of the reality and power of Christianity.

No one has given a clearer description of that than the man who had frequently satirized over the "instruction" of Egede and who, when on the point of dying of small-pox, exclaimed: "Thou hast done towards us what not one of our own would have done. Thou hast given us food, when we had nothing to eat; thou hast buried our dead, who would otherwise have been left as the prey of wild animals; thou hast especially instructed us of God and how we are able to obtain bliss so that we may die joyfully."

Mathis Jochumsen, a Norwegian by birth, who went on a voyage of exploration to Greenland and spent the year 1732 to 1733 in Godthaab, gave a description of Hans Egede of which I will, in conclusion, give the following extract: "I have endeavoured with all my might and main to find out for what reason the clergyman and his wife and children remain so faithful to the affairs of the Greenlanders and suffer so much trouble from one year to another, and have further abandoned the means of preferment they had in Norway, in order to carry this work to perfection. Indeed, I privily concluded that Egede must have had some secret intrigue in all this, and wanted to make himself deserving of winning a bishopric or one of the best charges in Denmark or Norway. But I note that he has no inclination in either of these directions, but always says that he desires to live and die here, in order to lead these savages to the knowledge of God— —nor have I noted anything but that the clergyman as a true servant of God endeavours to advance His glory and the cause of the King, although he die in the attempt—such a man is worth his weight in gold."

II. THE POST-EGEDE PERIOD

(1736—1765).

Even before the departure of Hans Egede, new land had been subjected to the Greenland mission. In the autumn of 1730 a man from the north came to settle in the neighbourhood of Godthaab. He told Egede that the population of the large Disko Bay “yearned for instruction about God and the Son of God,” and they actually invited him to move up there, “for here is a better country and more people than towards the south, where he is. We are willing to give him all that we are wont to give to the vessels of the others (i. e. the Dutch), for they cannot tell us anything that is of importance to us, nor do they speak of anything but blubber, blubber and always blubber. We are greatly desirous of receiving instruction of the great Creator of whom *you* have told us and with whom you have held converse.”

But however much Egede wished to establish a station at Disko, there was, for the present, no possibility of doing so. Thus the opportunity very nearly passed out of the hands of the Danish mission, as Chr. David and his colleagues for a time were rather inclined to go up with the vessel which Jacob Severin in 1733 sent to those parts in order to trade with the natives, and it was their intention to establish an entirely independent mission. Happily, however, this plan was not carried out. On the other hand, with the collaboration of Poul Egede and Christian David, who worked as a carpenter, a trading and mission station was established in the south-eastern part of Disko Bay, in the neighbourhood of the bay, which by the Dutch was named Viire Bay, the new colony being called Christianshaab after King Christian VI.

At first nothing important was accomplished, because the first missionaries were almost entirely unfamiliar with the language of the native population and, further, were obliged to leave it in 1735, owing to lack of provisions. But the following year Poul Egede, who had helped in founding the new establishment and then gone back to his parents, in order to be with them until they left for Denmark, returned to Christianshaab, and the missionary work was resumed with great energy.

The rumour of his popularity in Godthaab and of his speaking the language like a native had preceded him, and when he came, people at once flocked to hear him and promised that “his floor should never be free of their feet.” They remained faithful to their word, and a better opportunity for a missionary to propagate the Gospel can hardly be imagined. And not only did people, with great energy, avail themselves of this opportunity, but during the four years which Poul Egede still spent in the country, he almost incessantly travelled about throughout the Disko region and entered into communication with practically the whole of the population, visiting them

in their houses and tents, holding long and minute discussions with them and their *angákoqs*, making known the deceptions of the latter and combating their influence, in short, using every opportunity of preparing the way for the Gospel. He hardly felt any opposition, although there can be no doubt that it did exist in secret, as appears from the fact that "assemblies" were on several occasions held in the neighbourhood of the settlement, where the Greenlanders from more remote dwelling places came in flocks to "reprove them in song" because, owing to the "awful talk" of Poul Egede, they had thrown away their amulets. It also appeared from the warnings which were sometimes addressed to him against going to such and such a place, because the *angákoqs* meant mischief, but then when he arrived at the place in question there was never anything the matter; on the contrary, he was received, at any rate with apparent respect and joy by the very persons pointed out, who willingly listened to him and acted according to his instructions.

Upon the whole Poul Egede had the unique ability of getting into intimate touch with the Greenlanders, by beginning to speak of sealing and ending with the highest matters and the most secret thoughts of the soul, and particularly of availing himself of the moments, when hearts were most susceptible, for instance, when people were struck down by sorrows, or when the "memory of many sins" made the heart troubled. Therefore, his preaching came to exercise a very great influence, although his activity was only of short duration. Not only was a small community of zealous Christians formed round Christianshaab itself, but the Gospel also struck root in the more populous regions round the great Jacobshavn Icefiord, in the central part of the inner coast of Disko Bay.

About 1739 a religious movement sprang up among the Greenlanders south of the Icefiord. It manifested itself in a far greater and more earnest attention and a greater desire for the presence and preaching of the missionaries. It frequently happened that the whole audience at once threw away their amulets and charms, and more and more demanded baptismal instruction with indisputable signs of their hearts being seriously moved. They did not even hesitate to walk the long distance of 30 to 40 km to Christianshaab, and before his departure Poul Egede had the satisfaction of baptizing several persons from that locality, among others two grown-up girls who, by their own wish, were called after his two sisters, Kirstine and Pernille. On their ardent and zealous evidence the movement gained further strength, spreading also to the north side of the fiord, and it became both lasting and sincere, although naturally it met with some opposition. It was generally among the younger people that the movement had its most ardent adherents, whereas several of the older tried to keep them back, on the plea that it might spoil their chances of becoming good providers and that they would not succeed in hunting, if they broke away entirely from their old

beliefs. Also, as a matter of course the *angákoqs* eagerly combated the movement, trying to check it and to frighten those who had come under its influence. However, nothing of all this could stop it. On the contrary, it gained more and more ground, so that the missionary and his native assistants were fully occupied and had to take turns at staying among those who had been awakened.

Therefore, an extension of the mission became urgently necessary. But a difficulty arose, in that Severin who by his agreement with the Government was under obligation to provide, within reasonable bounds, what was necessary for the maintenance of the mission, at first refused to hear of any new establishment, so close to Christianshaab, and when finally, in 1741, he agreed to do so, he only built a small house for the storing of imported merchandise and native produce with temporary accomodation for traders and missionaries. The place was termed a summer mission lodge and was called, after Severin, by the name of Jacobshavn, but not until the General Trading Company had taken over the Greenland affairs of Severin was it made a regular mission station.

On August 4th, 1740, Poul Egede left Greenland for good. His eyes had suffered so much that he did not dare to stay any longer, however much the Greenlanders begged him to do so. "There is nothing the matter with thy mouth," they said, "so don't speak of going to thy native country." It was hard for him to leave them, all the more so as his view of the future of the mission had undergone an essential change. Whereas he had formerly had "little hope of the fruitful conversion of the Greenlanders," he had now frequently felt with great amazement and joy "what joyful impression had been made on the hearts of the old ones, when they had seen and heard their own young people correcting and instructing them," and that his work "had not at all been fruitless, for not only they whom I myself have instructed have indeed been won over by the divine truths, but those same people have also instructed others, who in sorrow, although to my joy, have demanded further knowledge."

After his return to Denmark, Poul Egede lived as a clergyman in Copenhagen, at the same time assisting his father in his work at the seminary, in which workers were trained for the Greenland Mission. He also succeeded his father as superintendent of the mission, and this position he retained until his death in 1789.

The movement which had been started with the zealous preaching of Poul Egede, was continued after his return to Denmark and gradually spread along the coasts of Disko Bay. The furtherance of the mission was greatly assisted by the fact that his brother, Niels Egede, who again had become a trader at Godthaab, in 1740 moved to Christianshaab. By natural disposition and inclination as much of a missionary as a trader he preached the Gospel, wherever he went on his trading expeditions. He was almost

still more beloved by the Greenlanders than his brother, and furthermore highly respected because of his great bodily strength. The Greenlanders compared him to "a magnet drawing people." The power he possessed over the natives he used in every possible way to work for the Kingdom of Heaven and to fight against the *angákoqs* and their influence, with the result that wherever he went they all came up with their books in their hands in order to be instructed, and everywhere his help and guidance were requested, in temporal as well as in spiritual matters, "for the *angákoqs* were now entirely depraved."

It is true that Niels Egede left Greenland in 1743, but the mission had now taken firm roots in this region, and a few years later two new members of the Egede family arrived, *viz.* N. B. Bloch and Peder Egede, the sons of Hans Egede's sister and brother, both of them very good linguists and possessing to the full the Egede capability of making themselves beloved by the Greenlanders. Through their efforts on behalf of the mission the movement received fresh impetus, and as early as the beginning of 1749 there was a great number of catechumens, both young and old and "the word proved to be rather alive and powerful." Once more it was among the population south of the Icefiord that the desire for the word of God was most ardent, and there, consequently, the activity of the missionaries was greatest and most needed. The dangers attaching to the wandering life of the missionary appears clearly from the fact that the cousins, in the month of November of the same year, came very near to losing their lives in a heavy snowstorm and were only found and rescued at the very last moment, when they had been wandering about for three days and two nights. This, however, proved a blessing in disguise, for in consequence of the accident another missionary station was established south of the Icefiord, at Claushavn.

In 1750 the religious movement made still greater progress, and "great blessing attended the work." A large number of people were permitted to be baptized, and as contrasted with preceding years there was a large number of Greenlanders who were eager to learn and more or less influenced and convinced. At this period two events occurred which gave further strength to the movement. Severin had sent up a vessel in order to fetch the merchandise belonging to him, but when everything was ready for departure, the vessel of the new trading company, which was expected with merchandise and provisions for the station, had not arrived, although the summer was far advanced. Consequently, it became necessary for one of the cousins to go home, as there would otherwise, in case the vessel did not arrive at all, be a lack of provisions. They cast lots, and the lot fell on Bloch who went on board and departed "God only knows with what heart-felt sorrow, the which was further enhanced by the tears and crying of my dear Greenlanders." But when, after several days of contrary winds and fog, the vessel had not

got beyond the mouth of Disko Bay, the other vessel they had been waiting for came in sight. Bloch returned at once and was received with joy and jubilation by the Greenlanders, who were greatly touched by the "deed of kindness which I had thus been able to show them. and were still more fully convinced that the Divine Providence directs everything for the best on behalf of His children." However, in the winter 1751 to 1752, a violent epidemic broke out, which carried away most of those who had already been baptized, as well as the greater part of the catechumens and the neighbouring heathen, and the missionary work which had seemed to be progressing so well, was once more entirely frustrated.

Still it seems as if this last event only served to fan the fire. Although the mission had to start afresh, as it were from the very beginning, and almost all the inhabitants had deserted the dwelling places near the Icefiord, the missionaries still ventured to set to work there, and Egede moved to Jacobshavn, while Bloch went to Claushavn. And, against expectation, when the autumn came, large numbers gathered there from all sides, and the very first winter thirty-five individuals received baptism. The work grew and grew, and the harvest was very rich. When in 1754 Bloch left Greenland, there were at Jacobshavn seventy-four individuals who had been baptized and a large number of catechumens, while many of those living in the neighbourhood of the mission had received instruction and "in part actual conviction of the word of God." At Jacobshavn eleven individuals were baptized in 1753; and from then onwards Egede was able to baptize a dozen individuals, old and young, annually, while the number of catechumens was also very great. Indeed, he says that many of them were rather behindhand as regards actual instruction, but this did not matter so very much, as long as there was a religious life among them and this seems to have been the case.

Bloch fully realized the importance which should be attached to a perfect knowledge of the language of the natives, as well as to the greatest possible familiarity with their manner of thinking, together with adaptability to the climate of the country and the whole manner of living, and all of these qualifications the missionaries, never very young when they arrived, had some difficulty in acquiring. For this reason he proposed that quite young men should be sent out as catechists and possibly missionaries. In 1751 several young men were sent out for this purpose; two of these particularly proved extremely clever, being at the time of the departure of Bloch "able to speak almost like the natives." They were also of great assistance in the missionary work and worked together with Peder Egede, who now moved to Claushavn and lived there until his return in 1756.

But as so frequently happens, a reaction set in after this strong movement, and this was made still worse by the unlucky influence exercised by the Danish settlers, who were now no longer selected with the same care as in the days of Severin; further, for a number of years there was a rapidly

changing succession of missionaries, one of whom was driven, by melancholy and weariness of spirit, to take his own life. All this made itself felt in a strong decline of faith and religious life among those who had already been baptized and in a gradual decrease in the number of new converts, until at last it ceased altogether.

Whereas, during the above-mentioned period, the Danish mission underwent a rich development in north-eastern Greenland, it rather languished in its original home, the Godthaab region. The new mission which had been instituted there by the Moravian Brethren not merely overshadowed it, but for a time threatened to swallow it up entirely.

When hearing of the expedition to Greenland undertaken by the first Moravian Brethren, one hardly knows whether to admire the unlimited confidence in the Lord which inspired these missionaries, or to wonder at the incredible irresponsibility with which the authorities—their own church elders in Herrnhut and, perhaps still more, the Danish Government—sanctioned the enterprise.

After being consecrated in their new work by prayer and the laying on of hands, the three men were sent out *without any kind of equipment*, indeed, with hardly sufficient money to cover their travelling expenses as far as Copenhagen. So little did they know of what awaited them that they thought they would be able to earn their livelihood by means of agriculture, and when at last they had been made to understand that this was out of the question, they thought at any rate that they would be able to exist as artisans. Nevertheless, the King gave them permission to go to Greenland, providing them with free passage and a letter of introduction to Hans Egede, without giving a thought to whether the latter desired their assistance, or whether he would be at all able to give them food and shelter. However, during their stay in Copenhagen, they made many friends by whose assistance they were enabled to provide themselves with building materials, provisions, books etc. so that they were not entirely empty-handed on their arrival in Greenland.

As formerly mentioned they immediately set about establishing their own mission, choosing a site a couple of kilometres south of Godthaab, "Neu Herrnhut," of which they took possession with prayers, and where they built a house, which already in 1733 was so far finished that they could move in and think of commencing their missionary work.

However, it took some time before they were able to set about this work in good earnest, for at first the Greenlanders were rather shy of them, and this it seems was principally their own fault. It is true that they tried to get into touch with the native population and received them in their houses, if

any were willing to come, and for instance during the small-pox epidemic they followed the example of Egede and nursed the sick to the best of their ability. But they were never so intimate with them as the Danes, and never regarded them as their equals; they did not travel much among them and, by preference, never lived in their houses, but in tents which they themselves brought, and furthermore they despised their national life, their manners and customs—all of these being things about which the Greenlanders are extremely sensitive.

Add to this that the Brethren spoke the vernacular very badly. Here we are not merely thinking of fluency or the ready use of the vocabulary, but of the pronunciation. For a Danish tongue it is as a rule very difficult to pronounce the Greenlandic words, and very few learn to do so correctly; but a German tongue is never able to accustom itself to it. And if at first the Greenlanders thought that the Brethren mocked them by mutilating their language, it is not to be wondered at that they kept at a distance, until they learnt to know them better.

For that matter, the first Moravian missionaries never attained any great proficiency in the Greenlandic language. To learn it theoretically was out of the question, and the opportunity of learning it practically, which they might have derived from a constant and intimate association with the natives, they did not utilize.

However, in the course of time the visits of the Greenlanders to Neu Herrnhut became more frequent, and upon the whole they gradually became more willing to associate with the Brethren who, in their turn, never neglected the opportunity of speaking to them of God. Still, it was long before they themselves thought that they had been able to make an impression, and only once do they mention that a Greenlander, on his own account, asked about God. It was in May, 1736, when they were out fishing lump sucker that a man from the south came up to them, as they thought “in order to look at their things.” As he had been standing there for a little while, he said: “I have been with the clergyman (i. e. Hans Egede) and he told strange things of One who has created heaven and earth; he is said to be called God”—and turning eagerly towards them he continued: “If you know anything of Him, then tell me again, for I have forgotten most of what I heard.”

At last, in July 1738, when the Brethren were visited by a great number of people from the far south, the first real conversion took place—unexpectedly and as it were almost by chance. While instructing their visitors they came to speak of the cost of the salvation of mankind, and in order to make this quite clear, Bech who was then occupied in translating part of the New Testament, read Luke (chap. 22) on the agony of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. Particularly verse 44 impressed one of those present, Qâjarnaq, so deeply that he demanded to hear it once more “as also he desired to be

made blessed," and this was the signal, not merely of his own conversion but of that of other members of his family. In March 1739 he himself was baptized together with his wife, his son and daughter, and then followed the son of his brother as well as several of his relatives. Persecution on the part of some of his countrymen forced him to go south once more where, however, he preached a good deal to his countrymen; but after having returned to Neu Herrnhut he died in 1741.

This event caused the Brethren to alter altogether their missionary practice. Formerly they had, in the main, followed the method of Hans Egede, basing their endeavours and the preaching of the Gospel upon the Creator and His will, in order to rouse the consciousness of guilt. Now, without further preparation, they passed on to speak of Christ as the atoner of guilt or—as expressed by the Danish missionary Gregersen in 1765—merely to "consider Christ in His state of degradation and His hardest sufferings." By this means they often rather quickly succeeded in doing what the Danish missionaries—in spite of their long and careful catechumen instruction—had frequently had some difficulty in doing, *viz.* to a rouse in their audience a consciousness of guilt and a longing for salvation.

During the first years after the conversion of Qâjarnaq, people were generally baptized singly; later on there were as many as three or four baptisms at a time, but not until January 1744 are we confronted with a larger number, *viz.* nine; after that time "collective baptism" becomes rather common, the number of persons baptized in March 1750 amounting to twenty-four. At the end of the latter year the number of baptized individuals amounted to 256, and at the end of 1760 even to 650, but at that time many of those who had been baptized were naturally either dead or had gone away. In 1765 the community comprised about 450 members.

When considering the *causes* of the rapid growth of the Moravian mission as contrasted with the Danish one, it should first of all be borne in mind to what an extent the spiritual soil had been prepared by the activity of Hans Egede. When the Brethren were visited by Greenlanders, not merely from the Godthaab region, but also from remote places, and they spoke to them of God, they heard, over and over again, the same remark: "This I have already heard in such and such a place, and already then it moved me greatly." Further, there was the great advantage attaching to the Moravian Mission as compared with the Danish one, in that there were constantly four or more missionary workers in the same place, and that most of the latter remained for a long time or for ever, while the Danish missionaries very frequently changed. But there is no doubt that the chief cause must be looked for in that which had already been pointed out by Gregersen, *viz.* "that the Herrnhutian doctrines, instruction and ceremonies all contain some elements to touch the senses and to rouse the imagination—both of which factors are very pronounced among the Greenlanders—and further

indulge the inclinations of the Greenlanders which are constantly in the direction of change.”

In order to make the Greenland community, at any rate in externals, conform with the mother church, the Moravian Brethren, from the very beginning, introduced all the practices and customs followed at the service and in the daily life of the Christians—choir assemblies, Saturday worship, prayer meetings on weekdays, friendly gatherings, which were frequently held at midnight, charity houses, houses for female worshipers and the like—quite irrespective of whether it was possible to adapt all this to the conditions of the country and the population and to the mental point of view of the Greenlanders.

According as assemblies and meetings became more frequent, and the number of those who took part in them increased, the “wounds and blood of the lamb” in a more and more one-sided manner became the subject of the preaching, inasmuch as the sole object of the speaker was to endeavour to rouse some kind of sentiment among his audience. And if this could not be achieved in any other way, he himself began to cry, “as there are always some, particularly of the female sex, who are easily moved to tears by the tears of another.” Consequently, it is not to be wondered at that those who took part in these meetings and services, gradually came to look upon it as if the chief thing was that they should be made to cry, all the more as most of the sermon was either unintelligible or far beyond them. For owing to their linguistic shortcomings the missionaries at first expressed themselves in obscure phrases and terms and as, furthermore, they were not exempt from the mystical and visionary movements within some of the Herrnhutian communities throughout Europe, they gradually developed a phraseology which almost exclusively dealt in vague imagery and allegories. And as the Greenlanders by temperament have leanings towards mysticism and are apt to adopt the jargon of their spiritual leaders, the reception of this curious medley was soon considered the height of Christianity, spreading through travellers far and wide, even as far as Christianshaab where, however, Niels Egede succeeded in neutralizing the effect which it might otherwise have exercised on the Christians there. But it is evident that it checked a healthy reception of the Gospel, not only among the converts, but also among the heathen, with whom the latter came into contact. As the Moravian Brethren, neither in their baptismal preparation nor towards those baptized attached any importance whatsoever to giving the pupils definite ideas by regular catechisings, and as the education of the young for several generations was entirely neglected, the state of Christian instruction was very low. This, *inter alia*, appeared from the fact that for many years to come the converts only knew one article of faith, in that they regarded Christ as creator and sanctifier as well; besides, this also—as is to be mentioned later on—expressed itself in visionary movements and in the fact that superstition, for

instance the belief in *ilisitsut* (witches), has been flourishing, almost until our own times, within the communities of the former Moravian missions.

In order to preserve the community pure and unpolluted the Brethren, from the very first, waged merciless war on all the old customs and habits of the Greenlanders, also looking askance, and after a while partly forbidding the most innocent pleasures, games and pastimes, which originally had helped to brighten the life of the people and their assemblies in the houses in winter and in the tents of the summer places. The consequence was that not merely heathen practices, but also national peculiarities, which were of a certain value and without detriment might have been adopted in a Christian community, were entirely lost or obscured.

The lives of those who had been baptized were, like those of the catechumens, subject to a minute system of control, and this control which was partly practised by the Brethren, partly by their many assistants at times almost degenerated into espionage. In connection with this they also exercised a severe and merciless church discipline, not only by withholding the right of admittance to the Lord's Table, but also by using a kind of ban, "since offending members of the community— —for a certain period are excluded, not merely from the narrower assemblies, but even from public service."

In order to maintain discipline within the community, the Moravian Brethren considered it necessary to keep their "flock" in the vicinity of Neu Herrnhut. Consequently, it became a fixed rule that the Greenlanders, on being baptized, were made to *promise* that they would always remain at the mission stations. This shows how entirely the Brethren lacked understanding of, and set aside, the requirements of the national occupations, which, by their very nature, should forbid the flocking together in one place.

However, the Brethren took good care that the breadwinners attended to their sealing and hunting and the women to their domestic work, and that the catch was utilized in the most economic manner. Everything was dried and put by at the proper season, and they even built store houses for winter provisions etc.

At first, compulsion was only exercised in the matter of winter dwellings. In summer the persons baptized as well as the catechumens were permitted to go on hunting expeditions, where and for as long as they themselves thought fit. But when it proved that life in the summer places was apt to degenerate, and that several "painful aberrations" took place, the long, independent summer journeys were prohibited. They were only permitted if a brother or a trusted assistant was able to join, and when, owing to the rapid growth of the community, it gradually became impossible to get reliable control for the many companies which scattered in various directions, the journeys were more and more limited to shorter excursions to the neighbourhood, where an effective supervision was more easily practicable.

That this would destroy the last remainder of liberty and independence which was still left under the strict rule of the Brethren and their encroachment upon the most private affairs, is a matter of course, nor did the economically deleterious consequences fail to make themselves felt, even though they were greatly retarded by the excellent management of the Brethren.

The external conditions of the Moravian Brethren were, during this period, far better than those of the Danish mission, their position being fairly secure from an economic point of view, inasmuch as they constantly received so many gifts from Denmark and particularly from Germany and Holland as to cover not only the expenses of their personal maintenance, but also to enable the mission to undertake very considerable extensions. In 1747 a large building was erected, consisting of two wings and with a church room, rooms for teaching or rather assemblies, accomodation for missionaries and large administration offices. In 1758 a new mission station, Lichtenfels, was established about twenty miles farther south, with buildings similar to those of Neu Herrnhut, although on a smaller scale. Even the Danish authorities treated the Brethren with the greatest consideration, while neglecting every complaint set forth by the Danish missionaries about their missionary practice and the drawbacks attaching to it.

For these various reasons it was impossible for the Danish mission in the Godthaab region to assert itself towards the Moravian Brethren, particularly as the immediate successors of Hans Egede were rather insignificant men and only remained for a short time in the country. Finally, when in 1739 the two missionary workers, the clergyman Chr. Drachardt and the catechist Berthel Laersen were sent up to Greenland, both of them being men of real missionary spirit and ardent zeal, who further stayed there for a considerable period—the latter even for life—they felt more and more drawn towards the Moravian method and form of Christianity, and so in the end they joined the Brethren. They both married wives of the Moravian community—B. Laersen a native woman—and their missionary practice became quite Herrnhutian. Before Drachardt left Greenland in 1751, he had actually moved out to Neu Herrnhut, and it was his intention “to make the whole community join the Moravians.” This, however, was frustrated by the opposition of most of the members of the community, although he succeeded in the case of seventeen families, and these—according to the Danish missionary Gregersen—“were held in especial esteem by the Moravian Brethren, and were all the more considered right-minded and true brethren, as they were filled with an immortal hatred of the community, by which they were first instructed and baptized.”

This state of affairs at the oldest mission station of the country naturally could not but rouse contention and doubt among those newly christened, as well as among the heathen. The effects spread beyond the dwelling place

itself, extending towards Frederikshaab in the south and towards Christianshaab in the north. Gregersen is quite right in saying: "Oh, what disorder in a heathen country! what culpable offence has not been given thereby!"

Subsequent missionaries at Godthaab endeavoured to the best of their ability to hold together the Greenlanders who still belonged to the Danish mission, and to make converts among the heathen, in which attempt they were also, to some extent, successful, particularly after B. Laersen had been removed in 1757. But the ascendancy gained by the Moravian mission the Brethren undoubtedly retained throughout this period.

On the other hand, the Danish mission gained ground in other parts of Greenland, both south and north of Godthaab. Thus, in 1742, the settlement Frederikshaab was established in lat. 62° N., about 140 miles south of Godthaab. It was, from the very beginning, also arranged as a mission station, and the missionary Sylow, who had officiated for two years in Godthaab where he had put in an energetic protest against the proceeding of Drachardt, was moved there.

The navigation of the new settlement seemed at first to be attended with great difficulties. Owing to the large masses of drift ice several vessels were wrecked outside it in Davis Strait, and in the course of sixteen years only two vessels succeeded in entering. This naturally had a delaying effect on the missionary work, and, besides, there were other difficulties. The population was much more "savage" than in the Godthaab region; complaints were set forth of a wide-spread laxity of sexual morals, there being even cases of incest known. The killing of witches was quite common; blood vengeance was practiced to an incredible degree, and even groundless murders were rather frequent. This remained so for a long while, and as late as in 1789 it is reported that the sealers must "as a rule be out two and two together, because there are people in that region who have committed and constantly threaten to commit murders."

However, in spite of everything, Frederikshaab was a promising mission station, partly as, owing to its good hunting and sealing grounds, the region was always sure of a comparatively large population, and partly because the situation was very favourable from the view of influencing the Greenlanders from the southern parts, who every year passed through there. Although Sylow was severely orthodox in his preaching of the Gospel and utterly regardless of consequences in his fight against heathendom and national customs, he nevertheless gradually gained ground among the Greenlanders. During the summer he constantly travelled about in the district and stayed at summer places for weeks at a time. In winter he gathered the catechumens at the settlement and instructed them zealously and conscientiously. Although, owing to weak health, he was already obliged to

return in 1746, he left behind a community consisting of fifty-three baptized individuals and a number of catechumens. His successors who remained there for a longer period baptized the population by hundreds, and at the end of the period the Frederikshaab mission presented the picture of a comparatively flourishing Christian community and a rather pronounced religious life, with a constantly increasing number of converts.

In 1754 the General Trading Company resolved to establish four new settlements in various parts of the coast. At first there was no intention of founding missions at any of these stations, which curiously enough did not seem to worry the Mission College. But if the College did not think of this, the missionaries in Greenland did it all the more.

The new establishment Sarqaq (the later Ritenbenk) on the north side of Disko Bay—the only one of the four which fell to the share of North Greenland—was, by the missionary at Jacobshavn, included in his sphere of activity, and for a time he even placed a young Danish catechist up there. The three other stations—all in South Greenland—were taken over by the neighbouring missionaries, who did the work to the best of their ability, while at the same time they remonstrated with the Mission College that it would be necessary, as soon as possible, to appoint independent missionaries, as the distances were otherwise too great for the mission to become effective.

Fiskernæsset, established in 1754 between Godthaab and Frederikshaab, was on the other hand lost to the Danish mission by the neglect of the Mission College, inasmuch as the Moravian Brethren, as mentioned above, in 1758 established the station Lichtenfels in the immediate vicinity of the new trading station. They not only gradually won over the Greenlanders of the region, but also attracted a great number of people from the south, so that the population became far too large in proportion to the already very highly exploited hunting possibilities and, as at Neu Herrnhut, it was only the excellent economic administration of the Brethren which for a time prevented the detrimental consequences from making themselves felt. At a later period, however, they only became all the more glaring.

A couple of generations were to elapse before the Danish Mission took up the work at Fiskernæsset, and more than a hundred years before they got so many adherents that they could be termed a community.

In 1755 Sukkertoppen was established near the dwelling place Kangâmiut, a couple of hundred kilometres north of Godthaab, and in 1756 Syd Bay, on a small island on the boundary line between South and North Greenland. According to the trader Lars Dalager the inhabitants of these places, because of their long association with the Dutch, had become "savage, godless and reckless people," and so "could well bear to have hell depicted to them glowingly," and he consequently thought that the then missionary of Godthaab, with whom he did not get on, might fittingly be moved to one of these

new stations. However, in the end, Berthel Laersen was sent to Sukkertoppen, whereas Syd Bay was given an ordained missionary.

Laersen quickly gained ground among the Greenlanders of the Sukkertoppen region, strongly supported by the founder of the place, the trader Anders Olsen, who like himself had married a Greenland woman and was strongly influenced by the Moravian Brethren. Many heathen came to receive baptismal instruction, and Laersen worked faithfully and zealously, not only influencing them spiritually, but also instructing them in the Christian faith, in which respect he thus distinguished himself from the Moravians. He was an able teacher and from the very first attached great importance to the children's school, and he also trained a few young men, first and foremost his own sons, to make able teachers and catechists. In other respects his working method was rather the Moravian one, and like the Brethren he made the members of his community promise that they would remain at the settlement. Missionaries from Godthaab travelled, as far as possible, every summer throughout the district, administering baptism and undertaking other church functions, and already at the end of this period there was in this place a zealous community consisting of 60 to 70 members and a greatly increasing number of catechumens. Laersen, however, maintained with great energy that there would be still more life and progress if an ordained missionary was sent to Sukkertoppen, and the Mission College, justly recognizing his skill and the strength which he had infused into the missionary work in Greenland, proposed that he himself should be ordained. The modest man had not expected this, and for two years he reflected upon the proposal, before he could make up his mind to accept it. At last, however, he submitted to the necessity, and in June 1764 he was ordained in Godthaab—the first ordination to take place in Greenland.

At Syd Bay the mission did not gain much ground. The settlement was very isolated, being situated on an island, and the population of the district was very sparse. Therefore, the missionary Borch proposed to move the mission station to a place in the Amerdloq Fiord where there were "twenty-four reliable and populous families who did not travel far."

To this the Mission College agreed, and in 1759 Borch moved to the new mission station. As most of the Greenlanders in the neighbourhood of Syd Bay followed the mission, the trading station had also to be moved there, and the settlement Holsteinsborg was established.

Although Borch was severe in his demands on the catechumens, both as regards actual knowledge and morals, he still made great progress among the population, and when in 1763 his successor Henric Christopher Glahn took over the mission, it was in such rapid growth that very soon a "large number of people moved to the neighbourhood of the clergyman, in order to receive baptismal instruction, although there was great contempt for and opposition to the Gospel among several of the heathen."

III. THE FLOURISHING OF THE MISSION.

(1765 to 1792)

The state of degradation into which the Danish mission had fallen owing to the increasing influence of the Moravian Brethren, and especially in the very region where Hans Egede had lived and worked, came to an end at last. In 1765 the Iclander Egil Thorhallesen went to Godthaab as a missionary, and through his activity the mission once more recovered its strength and was infused with new life.

With great sorrow Thorhallesen saw the confusion of ideas which was the result of the extremely different working methods of the two missions, so that "the Greenlanders here, indeed, even the heathen believe that the missionaries teach them of *two different Gods*, one at Godthaab and another at Herrnhut, which has greatly confused the advance of the Word." He witnessed a perfectly scandalous conflict between his harmless predecessor and the trader Dalager, who inclined towards the Moravians, in the course of which strife the latter went to the most violent extremes. He saw how the Moravians fanned the fire, until even their catechumens "show their contempt of those who have been baptized by the Danish mission, do not greet them, nay, even use the sacred name "baptized" as an abusive term; how they lure the catechumens of the mission in constantly increasing numbers, indeed, how they set down the neighbouring heathen in their "register of souls;" when the Danish missionary then comes to them and encourages them to be instructed for baptism their answer is: "Johannes (Bech, one of the leaders of the Brethren) has set down our souls." It did not take Thorhallesen long to discover that the Moravians, supported by the trader and his authority with the Greenlanders, actually worked towards the goal that "the whole of the mission work here shall be left to them, as was projected a couple of years ago."

First of all he addressed an urgent petition to the Mission College that a stop should be put to their pretensions and the influence exercised by them, by prohibiting greatly deviating doctrines, rites and the like, and by enjoining them "to arrange their baptism in accordance with the Danish ritual, as nothing causes greater confusion and contention than that the Godthaab people are not even properly baptized." But as this address proved to be of no avail, because powerful influence was at work in Copenhagen on behalf of the Moravians, he resolved to fight the latter with spiritual weapons.

In these very years there were signs of an initial spiritual movement. Already in 1766 Thorhallesen was able to report a most unusual experience which he had on a journey to Pisugfik, a large heathen dwelling place between Godthaab and Sukkertoppen. The inhabitants there "had retained a good deal of the instruction of the late bishop Egede," but now they

flocked about him, over fifty in number, and wanted to hear more of "Him who had made these mountains and the great rocks." Thorhallesen did his best, but as his knowledge of the language was still rather defective, and "as there was a fool among them who mocked all I said to them," nothing much came of it on that occasion.

In 1767 to 1768 the movement, however, broke into flame and not, as had hitherto been the prevailing opinion, in the Godthaab District only, but, as will be shown later on, throughout the country.

In 1768 Thorhallesen was able to report that now there is everywhere a strong religious movement among the unbaptized. Since last autumn twenty-two individuals had been baptized, among others an old woman, between eighty and ninety years of age, who, on her deathbed, had requested to be taken to Godthaab, where after a few days' instruction she succeeded in being baptized before her death. Her family, consisting of twelve persons, followed her example at once and, later on, their "companions and neighbours." In a short time people began to flock to the settlement, and from all the inhabited places in the southern district of Godthaab, even from the remote Qilángait Island, whole families presented themselves at the mission "and their number increased daily."

The most curious thing was, however, that the entire population of Pisugfik—about 150 individuals—had resolved to go to the settlement in order to receive baptismal instruction, and that they did so, inflamed by "the sorcerer Imennek, who had formerly been an oracle among them, but had now been seized by a strange emotion and terror." He had never felt at ease, since Thorhallesen in the previous year had remonstrated with him on the "dual state of man after death." During the winter they had then sent to Godthaab for the clergyman that he should come and strengthen them, but as at that time he was fully taken up with the catechumens and would not be able to stay with them, he sent them a very well instructed Greenland.

But now the Moravian Brethren, as usual, began to interfere, and *their* conversions and persecutions came very near to making the movement which Thorhallesen calls "the happiest experience of my life" a sad and laborious affair for him and his young assistant, the catechist Jacob Rachlew. When these two men, as soon as Spring came, travelled about to all the inhabited dwelling places in order to "seize the opportune moment", they felt more and more "that the minds of the Greenlanders were greatly confused." And this particularly applied to the very population of Pisugfik who, it is true, were willing enough to be converted, but did not know what mission they should decide for. "Their minds inclined towards the Danish mission, but the Herrnhutian one was more praised."

The result was that four large families went to Neu Herrnhut where they were baptized after quite a short preparation, whereas only fifty-six

persons became catechumens at Godthaab, where forty-three of them were baptized in the summer of 1769. They not only showed excellent knowledge but also a "desire attended by tears for being incorporated with the body of their Saviour." Imennek who had been conquered by the Moravian Brethren, repented bitterly when he was present at the baptismal ceremony in Godthaab, and heard how the members of his dwelling place were able to answer *all* the questions put to them in the course of the examination.

It was in itself hard enough for the Danish missionary workers to see their hopes so greatly reduced. But Thorhallesen had not merely to put up with these endeavours on the part of his neighbours at Neu Herrnhut "to talk over my own catechumens and other unbaptized persons, who had applied to me, but when, by my care and perseverance (if I may be permitted to praise myself a little) they did not succeed as well as they had expected, they now direct their efforts against my person and my private affairs, as has always been the last resort of badly armed opponents of the Church." Indeed, it went so far that several Moravian Greenlanders maintained that they had seen Törnárssuk, that is Satan, coming towards them dressed in a long, black gown like the one worn by the clergyman at Godthaab.

By all this Thorhallesen was made to reflect upon the possibility of finding means, so that the newly baptized might be spared the difficulties and doubts which were apt to be the result of this painful strife. Furthermore, the population of Qilángait were now also "desirous for instruction," and declared that they wanted to become converts. Therefore, some of them came to Godthaab to be baptized, but they could not remain there for fear of over-populating the settlement. On the other hand, Thorhallesen was afraid that the Moravians would persuade the people of Qilángait as well as those of Pisugfik to join them, and so he resolved to establish *catechist missions* in both places.

Rachlew worked at Pisugfik (from 1769) and another Danish catechist, Johs. Andersen at Qilángait (from 1771). They were difficult and lonely posts, and the catechists had miserable and poor houses and at times insufficient food, but they stood it bravely for many years and did excellent work. Rachlew who was "greatly proficient in the language, indefatigable at teaching and never fears hard work or trouble," won the sympathy of the population to the extent that soon there was hardly one person left who had not been baptized. When he arrived on October 17th, 1769, a large number of people were on the point of departing for Neu Herrnhut, but he succeeded in making them change their minds, and in March, 1770, "fifty hitherto wild branches were grafted on the true olive tree." The baptismal rite was celebrated in the dwelling place itself. As soon as the ice broke up, the Moravian Greenlanders again made their appearance, and tried to "divert the minds of their countrymen from the right doctrine to fancies,

injunctions of men and irrational imagination," but he succeeded in counter-acting their influence. In 1775 the mission in this place, consisting of a hundred individuals, was economically thriving and "in respect of knowledge the best of all" in the district. When Thorhallesen visited the place for the last time, its inhabitants showed "both in words and in deeds a gratefulness so sincere that I can never think of it without a genuine pleasure."

In spite of "incredible steps" on the part of the Brethren, Andersen in the course of a couple of years instructed thirty-seven heathen for baptism, and in 1775 the congregation at Qilángait consisted of nearly a hundred individuals. When in 1774 it became necessary to move Andersen to Frederikshaab, in order to assist the missionary in that place, Thorhallesen himself went down and spent the winter with the newly baptized.

In the larger dwelling places nearer Godthaab where supervision was easier, he appointed native catechists, who had been trained by himself, thus on the one hand preventing over-population at the settlement, on the other reducing the Moravian influence.

Before he went home, in 1775, Thorhallesen had recovered the Godthaab District. During the last years of his stay none of the Greenlanders living there had "fallen to the share of those unjustified"; he left a congregation which had been nearly trebled in the course of his stay in Greenland and was now much greater than that of the Brethren. His successors continued along the same lines, and at the end of this period the district was entirely converted to Christianity.

The Moravians soon abandoned the fight. As late as 1774 a conflict arose, because some of their converts attempted by force to carry away a girl from the Godthaab congregation, which caused the Mission College to address a sharp reproof to the head of the mission. After that time they kept more to themselves. Relations between the two missions gradually improved, and already during this period it was so good that at church festivals they were present at each others services.

The other mission stations of South Greenland escaped the shattering conflict which raged round the Godthaab mission. It is true that the effects made themselves felt almost everywhere, now and again with rather a disturbing effect, but in spite of everything they had a far quieter and more evenly progressing course. And if in return the results were hardly so striking, they were in themselves both great and fortunate.

In Frederikshaab the missionary from 1768—1773 was Otto Fabricius, later so well known as an authority on the language, natural history and ethnography of Greenland. In the very year he came to live there the religious movement reached the district, and in the course of the summer more than

seventy heathen presented themselves for baptismal instruction. This increase in the number of converts continued during the following years, and as Fabricius had to do his work single-handed, being unable to get any of the Danish catechists who were entirely taken up with the conflicts in the Godthaab District, he had to work incessantly in order to keep the mission going. And when he realized that it would not do to keep all of those people in one place, he changed his whole working method. He taught himself to paddle a kayak, and attained such perfection that in summer he was able to accompany the Greenlanders and move quickly from one place to another. In the winter he made them scatter to good sealing and hunting grounds, so that only quite few lived at the actual settlement, and then he himself went from one place to another, making long stays among the Greenlanders, spending for instance a whole winter on the island of Iluilârssuk, where he instructed and later on baptized all the inhabitants. He trained several natives as catechists and gradually appointed them at the largest winter dwelling places. His few leisure hours he spent in literary work, having ample opportunity to collect material on his constant wanderings.

At Frederikshaab he built a church, where the inhabitants of the settlement and those of the neighbouring island Natdla, the largest and oldest part of the congregation, could attend divine service, and where the baptismal ceremonies took place. This church was extremely plain, the walls being constructed of turf and stones with a few posts between them, and only in the choir was it covered with boards. It had no ceiling; the roof was very steep, and the rafters did not extend beyond the walls, so that when it rained water oozed down the walls. However, "it was quite neatly appointed," and it was used until 1786, when a new church was built of timber.

In 1773 when Fabricius left the country, after having baptized about 200 individuals of whom 140 were adult heathen, the work was continued by his successor, along the lines laid down by him, and before the end of the period this congregation further incorporated about 300 heathen. However, for many years to come, there continued to be unbaptized persons in this district, particularly because the population was constantly renewed by people moving north as well as by immigration from the south.

At Sukkertoppen Berthel Laersen continued his zealous work, making great progress and being assisted by his sons of whom particularly Frederik Berthelsen was an excellent preacher. Also here the religious movement among the heathen manifested itself in a largely increasing number of catechumens. Within the period 1768 to 1773 the total number of baptized individuals was 154, of whom there were in the first year 33, and in 1771 as many as 42. In the winter 1769 to 1770 the number of the unbaptized exceeded 60 who "have received constant instruction and gained added knowledge." On the death of Laersen there were not many, and at the end of the period practically no heathen in the district.

Laersen was all along suspected of Moravian tendencies. When in 1775 Thorhallesen visited Sukkertoppen, he was therefore requested to make careful investigations in this place, as to the state of instruction, the form of service and the general habits of the congregation. However, he could only report that "the teaching of the children was carried on with great diligence, that the young people were excellently instructed, some of them even being able to write, while the congregation generally speaking had sound understanding." Still, there were a few who "had a curiously confused idea of the persons in the Godhead," but Thorhallesen thinks that one must be careful in making the teacher responsible for this. Nor can it be proved for certain, either that the Moravian service books or the Moravian hymns are preferred, though much pointed in the direction of this being sometimes the case. As regards church singing the congregation, like the Moravians, were "perceptibly superior", but this was only a point in their favour.

It was a great drawback that such a large congregation had no house to assemble in; and their constantly repeated request to this effect was of no avail. Partly for this reason, and partly because, as the years went on, it became more and more difficult to provide food for so many people in one place, Laersen during his last years gave up his old principle of centralization and directed his efforts towards distributing the community over the best places of the district, and then placing his sons or other of his pupils among them as catechists.

After the death of Laersen, in 1782, more than eighteen months elapsed before a new missionary was appointed. Under the supervision of the Godthaab missionary, Frederik Berthelsen did all in his power in order to keep the mission going along the accustomed lines, and in 1783 the catechist Johs. Andersen was moved there, but he died shortly afterwards. However, even within this short period it had proved that the congregation, which in the Herrnhutian manner had been guided and supervised to the minutest detail, were not able to stand alone, but were like sheep which had lost their shepherd. Superstition again became rife, for the time being manifesting itself in that an old woman was accused of having caused the death of their be-



Otto Fabricius.

loved minister by witchery, for which reason she was so badly beaten and ill-treated that she drowned herself from fear. And this was merely the forerunner of a large and very dangerous movement, of which a detailed description will be given later on.

At Holsteinsborg the work progressed evenly. Several people were baptized every year, and the congregation thrived as regards knowledge and spiritual life. One conversion, particularly, should be mentioned, because it became of importance for several others. A female *angákoq* was "by God himself, by means of a severe illness, snatched out of her miserable darkness in that, after having in vain tried her own medical skill and that of other conjurers, she at last realized the impotence of heathendom and resolved, if she lived long enough, to go to the mission and become a catechumen. From then onwards her life was utterly changed; her diligence in learning was exemplary, her longing for death pathetic, and her eagerness to give evidence of her faith was great."

The religious movement also made itself felt here, and in 1769 twenty-three individuals were baptized, or three times as many as in the preceding year. In 1770 the congregation numbered 130 members and 68 catechumens, of whom 29 were baptized. In 1773 the number of baptized persons even amounted to 40. The movement gave the impulse to the building of a church at Holsteinsborg. On the initiative of Glahn, the congregation itself began to collect native produce, when they had been particularly fortunate in whaling. This was continued under his successor, and in 1772 a petition was forwarded to the College containing the passage: "Inasmuch as the number of believers greatly increases with us, we should very much like to have a place of worship for God, our supreme Lord." This petition was accompanied by sixty barrels of blubber, with the promise of "yearly improvement." When the church was built in 1773, it was, by the College, given the name of Bethel, and it was inaugurated with great solemnity. In the Holsteinsborg church, which on this occasion was entirely crowded, Thorhallesen in 1775 held a visitation, finding "the state of knowledge fairly good and more equable than at most stations which I visited, and the attention at service very engaging."

At the end of the period there were no heathen in the district, but the congregation had several very grave faults, being pronouncedly self-willed and particularly very lax in sexual matters, owing to the presence of the many Danes who lived there for the whaling. —

As at Godthåab so also in North Greenland the time of tribulation of the mission lasted for part of this period. This particularly applies to Jacobshavn on account of a kind of religious "enthusiasm," the origin of which was the Danish catechist Jacob Møller, one of Bloch's pupils. It already began in the winter 1763—1764, when Møller owing to the lack of missionaries was the sole leader of the mission work of this district, but it culminated during the

following winter and then became all the more dangerous because the newly arrived missionary, Jørgen Sverdrup, in his ignorance of the language and conditions, only gradually came to realize the state of affairs and for a long time was rather wavering and uncertain as to how to combat it.

The peculiar behaviour of Møller was to a certain extent due to religious fanaticism, but at times it seems to have been actual mental derangement, undoubtedly accounted for by his disinclination to give up the position of power which he had secured among the Greenlanders. At first he tried in secret to incite the community against the Danes, particularly the missionary, for which purpose he *inter alia* used the nightly evening prayers at the houses, where also Sverdrup was present, however, without realizing at first what the other was about. Later on Møller openly declared himself a prophet, maintained that the spirit of God spoke through him, even when he uttered things which were not in the Bible, and maintained that he was able to raise the dead. The climax came when he began to preach "a new doctrine of *polygamia simultanea*," saying that the spirit had revealed to him that polygamy was permitted. He himself wanted to make a beginning by taking his servant girl as second wife, which step he defended by referring to the example of Abraham.



Jørgen Sverdrup.

Sverdrup tried, in every possible way, to bring him to reason and to make him desist from his errors, but at last he was obliged to suspend him from his ecclesiastical duties, and then, when Møller fell into a violent rage, and on several occasions caused disturbances and behaved in a perfectly scandalous manner, he had him put into custody and sent back by the first vessel.

But the seed which had been sown soon began to bear fruit. In the same summer that Møller was sent home, complaints were set forth of his behaviour having caused "great disorder and unmannerliness among the large population of the place, most of whom are furthermore unbaptized." Nor were the effects of this scandalous business less among those who were baptized; some divorced their wives, a few took second wives, and more indulged in promiscuous sexual freedom. At the same time indifference as

to faith and life spread among the members of the congregation, and a pronounced distrust of the mission and its workers began to make itself felt. Even twenty-five years later, it might be said that the disorder which about the year 1764 had crept into this congregation could still be traced.

It was by no means a pleasant task for a young missionary. But like Thorhallesen, Sverdrup belonged to a class of people who by opposition are spurred to all the greater perseverance and display of energy. Although after the "defection" of Møller he was utterly without assistance from the point of view of language, he constantly moved about among the Greenlanders, and within a comparatively short time made such progress as to be able to speak with them without being misunderstood. But in spite of all his endeavours he was unable to get into intimate touch with them. When "by word or mien he showed his displeasure at their disorders," he was called "isumaluktok or a person of evil spirit." When he tried to win their confidence, it was as if he struck against a wall of distrust and lack of good will. On several occasions he was exposed to personal "harm and persecution," even from those who were baptized; once he was—as he only fully realized many years afterwards—on the point of being assaulted and struck down by one of them. For several years the mission therefore made practically no progress, and hardly any heathen presented themselves for baptismal instruction.

But Sverdrup was one of the very greatest personalities of the Greenland mission, and so he was *bound* to conquer in the end. After a while his zealous preaching began to make an impression, and when he had, in 1767, married a native woman with the express purpose of trying to get into closer touch with the population, things began to change. People became more eager to hear and to attend church, and new catechumens once more presented themselves, thirteen of whom were baptized in 1768, after a couple of years when no adults had undergone baptism in those parts. When the religious movement reached this district, the soil was so well prepared that the movement here progressed by leaps and bounds. In 1770 the number of converts was 125, although, owing to the failure of sealing, many had moved elsewhere, and in 1772 about 40 individuals were baptized, the congregation thus increasing to 204 at Jacobshavn. A few years afterwards, the Ritenbenk congregation which had formerly only comprised about 30 baptized individuals numbered 80. And that the revival became of longer duration in these parts than in South Greenland appears from the fact that, as late as 1777, 28 were baptised, and the number of catechumens in 1779 exceeded 50. The inner life of the congregation kept pace with the external one, as the missionary of Egedesminde was able to testify when, during Sverdrup's visit to Denmark, he took over his duties and found there "a well-appointed mission which, by the instruction of the adults as well as that of the young, bears testimony to the indefatigable diligence of its right-minded and

courageous teacher." And as in Holsteinsborg the general revival here also became the immediate cause of the building of a church. The desire for a place of assembly soon made itself felt, as the rooms of the clergyman become too small to accommodate the church-goers. And when Sverdrup could not make any headway in his attempts at getting a church for his congregation through the Mission College—and this in spite of the fact that he himself volunteered to defray part of the cost—he encouraged his flock to take matters into their own hands. In this he succeeded to such an extent that already in 1779 it was possible to build the large Zion Church which still stands, and for a couple of generations remained the only church in North Greenland.

Sverdrup constantly spent the greater part of the year in travelling. Not only did the Ritenbenk Settlement, situated 60 to 70 miles from Jacobs-havn, come under his supervision, being visited by him several times in the year, but to a still greater extent than Thorhallesen and Fabricius, he had accustomed himself to "go about with them in their tents," in summer as frequently as possible to visit the heathen dwelling places, and in winter to "stay with them in their very sooty houses." After he had been made archdeacon of North Greenland (1773) the area to be traversed naturally became much greater, while the travelling season remained the same, and so, to his great sorrow, he had to abandon some of his missionary voyages. According as the number of converts increased, and as they could not all live near the settlements, but had to move to other parts of the district, it became more and more imperative to get teachers for the new dwelling places. For this purpose he began, at an early period, a systematic training of natives, and this he continued as long as he remained in the country, thus providing a staff of able catechists, some of whom inherited his zeal, and who were in great requisition among the missionaries of North Greenland. But being frequently unable to provide a fitting existence for them, as the funds of the College were low, he had the sorrow of seeing several of the most able pass into the service of the Royal Greenland Trading Company. This, more than anything else, contributed to his leaving Greenland, although it had been his intention to spend his whole life in "his land of exile."

At Claushavn—Christianshaab the most prominent of the missionaries within this period (1770 to 1778) was the son of Hans Egede's daughter, Hans Egede Saabye, who united zeal and proficiency of the language with the Egede ability of influencing and winning the confidence of the Greenlanders. Thus he managed entirely to subdue the ill-will against the mission which had remained as an inheritance from a bygone period, and was partly due to the influence of the Danish settlers, being in this naturally helped by the fact that the wave of the religious movement was just then passing over that part of the country. Already in his first year of office Saabye was able to

baptize 15 heathen. There were then at Christianshaab 8 and at Claushavn 18 baptized families, consisting of 187 members in all. But in the following years the number of catechumens increased very considerably, and with the assistance of the old Danish catechist, Jens Pedersen Mørk, and a couple of young native helpers Saabye instructed and baptized a large number of heathen, at the places round the Icefiord 63 in all. In 1776 the number of those baptized within these districts had risen to 229 (against 250 unbaptized), and at the end of the period all had been baptized, with the exception of barely a hundred.

Still, it was Sverdrup to whom, in the first place, the Christianizing of Disko Bay was due, not only through his activity as archdeacon and visitor, but because now and again he acted as a *missionary*, first and foremost at his own dwelling place, but also in several of the others districts, sometimes at all of them at the same time.

It is not saying too much that while the population of the bay, on his arrival, was essentially heathen, it was on his departure essentially Christian. When he came there in 1764, there were small Christian congregations at Jacobshavn, Claushavn and Christianshaab, as well as a few Christians at Ritenbenk. When he left Greenland, in 1788, the congregations in all of these places had greatly increased, and new ones had been added, not only at Egedesminde and Godhavn on Disko, but at a number of outposts, as for instance 11 in the Jacobshavn mission district alone. In most of these places there were teachers who had been his own pupils, and there was a powerful life within the congregations, chiefly centering round the large new Zion Church.

But Sverdrup's importance was not limited to this. His uniquely long and loyal activity as a missionary and archdeacon left its impress on the mission in North Greenland, to an extent as that of no other man and for many years to come. All of the many missionaries who were his contemporaries there were influenced by him, being infected by his zeal and adopting his working method. Thus homogeneity and unity were imparted to the mission work, such as never before nor since, and Christianity was made the spiritual property of the Greenlanders in a far higher degree than could be expected at that time.

His noble, straightforward character, his commanding personality and blameless life created, in that part of the country, a respect for the mission among the Europeans and the temporal authorities, which greatly benefited it, not only within this but far into the succeeding period. Among the Greenlanders, the memory of his zeal lived even after forty years, and his linguistic ability became the measure for the proficiency of the missionaries as regards the vernacular.

Within this period the *whole of the inhabited coast was incorporated in the mission area*, by the founding of several new stations.

The southernmost part of Greenland, like Disko Bay, was among the most populous parts of the country. That the missionary work had not long ago been taken up in this place was principally due to its inaccessibility, as the coast nearly all summer was jealously guarded by the pack ice, and further to the circumstance that the Southlanders, with their umiaqs and tents, were in the habit of travelling up along the coast. These wanderings extended over several years, in the course of which many were converted to the Gospel and went to settle at the existing missions. Thus Frederikshaab received a constant contingent of converts, and also the Moravian Brethren found the greater part of their followers among these travellers.

Therefore, it was naturally the Moravian Brethren and the Frederikshaab missionaries who first had their attention directed towards the possibility of taking up mission work in these regions. In 1765 Math. Stach travelled south "far on that side of Frederikshaab in order to look for a new locality for their mission." Together with three Greenland families he wintered in a place at the mouth of Julianehaab Fiord. Probably in order to forestall the Brethren, O. Fabricius in 1769 proposed to send two clergymen to Frederikshaab, the elder of whom should then be a travelling missionary and particularly devote his energy to the many heathen south of this settlement. He himself was willing to make the first attempt, "the which even the dead have advised me to make," and further the heathen down there are "constantly clamouring that we should come to them, as they are unwilling to leave their country."

This proposal, however, was not carried into effect, and so it was the Moravian Brethren who came first into the field, by establishing a new station, Lichtenau, some ten miles south of the wintering place of Stach. Here, in the following year, 25 heathen were baptized, and in 1780 the congregation numbered about 200 converts. In the meantime the Mission College had resolved to establish a Danish mission at the trading station Julianehaab which had been founded in 1779, and when the first missionary arrived there in that year, he made such rapid progress among the heathen that the congregation, when he left nine years later, numbered hundreds, and there were catechists' missions in several places throughout the district. No records are at hand of actual conflicts with the Moravian Brethren, but that at this place also a certain friction between the two congregations had been unavoidable is *inter alia* confirmed by the fact that the Mission College was made to issue inhibitions against preventing marriages between their respective converts.

About midway between Holsteinsborg and Disko Bay Niels Egede, in 1759, founded the settlement Egedesminde, which four years later was moved to its present situation at the mouth of Disko Bay. When the rumour

spread of the identity of the new colonizer, people flocked to the place. They hardly knew anything about God and were so "simple and unpolished" that Egede had never before met their equals. However, faithful to his habit, he instructed them conscientiously in Christianity, and in the summer the missionary from Holsteinsborg undertook regular journeys of inspection to this station. Niels Egede was succeeded by the trader Dorf, who had formerly been a catechist and who continued his work for the mission here also, with the result that in 1765 there were 30 catechumens. In 1769 the first missionary arrived there, and the great religious movement also affected this place so that in 1771 the community consisted of 10 families with 68 members, as well as a number of catechumens, whose number was steadily increasing. The congregation, however, was very heterogeneous. Whereas many of the members were "extremely ready to learn and were inspired with a sincere gratitude, because they had been freed from the darkness of heathendom," there were others who were quite indifferent as to the state of their souls and, consequently, only felt little desire of being instructed in the divine truths. Nevertheless, the number of converts steadily increased, and it became necessary to appoint catechists and teachers at several places in the district. But a mortal epidemic, which in 1786 ravaged the greater part of Greenland, reduced the congregation so greatly that seven years later there were only 72 baptized individuals at the settlement, while out in the district the population was almost extinct.

For the settlement Ũmánaq, which had been established in 1758, it was at first impossible to find any missionary, probably because it had been declared in official quarters that it was hardly to be expected "that anyone would be willing to go so far towards the north." However, the Mission College at last succeeded in finding a "big and strong Norwegian," Jonas Gill, who was ready to do so, and who was sent out in 1765. He only found 6 baptized individuals at the settlement, *viz.* the family of the assistant trader, who had married a Greenland woman. The remainder of the population of this large district were "savage heathen" with whom, for the first few years, it proved impossible to get into contact, as they were "extremely afraid of hearing something of their deep depravation, of a divine sadness at their sins etc." And although he never omitted to add the comforting promise contained in the Gospel, he constantly received the answer: "Thou spoilest us with thy words."

Gill, however, was not to be daunted, but worked faithfully at instructing the children and trying to influence the adults, and he entertained "good hopes as to the future, first and foremost with the young." In 1767 the number of converts had risen to 22, several of whom were people who had moved into the district, and there were 16 catechumens, from the point of view of instruction ready to be baptized. But then something happened which almost broke the spirit of the missionary. Although in order to gain

his own experiences he had wished, for the time being, to work alone without any catechist to help him, the Mission College in 1766 sent him Jakob Möller, after the latter had been dismissed from Jacobshavn. Gill was aghast at this arrangement, as he feared a recurrence of the visionary movement, nor did his anxiety prove to be unfounded. In the spring of 1768 Moller began to enlighten the Greenlanders as to the "dark and obscure Urim and Thumim (Exod. 28. 30) and several very unreasonable and ridiculous doctrines— with a strange violence in a certain posture after tact and cadence." As the Greenlanders then became very noisy and unruly, he threatened them and heaped the bitterest and vilest vituperation on them. This caused "incredible offence and consternation." Many of the catechumens fled from the settlement, although Gill did all in his power to soothe them, and even Moller's wife tried to escape to the heathen.

Although the catechist was deposed at once, and although Gill resumed his work with redoubled eagerness, and with all his might tried to obliterate the impression which the behaviour of Moller had made on the Greenlanders, it was long before the mission gained ground in this district, a contributory circumstance being that Moller was only removed from the locality, when in 1774 Sverdrup came up on one of his voyages of visitation.

Still, in 1769, it was at last possible to baptize "the first plants in the church-garden of God at Omanak," 9 adults in all, and in the following year a few more. As long as Gill remained there, he only had reason to be satisfied with their Christianity and general behaviour, although the frenzied heathens in various ways tried to seduce them. And when Möller had left, the Gospel under the successor of Gill gradually made such progress that already in 1777 there were 90 baptized. This progress was continued under the succeeding missionaries, and the community steadily increased, particularly after the missionaries had developed the practice of moving every winter to a place in the interior of the fiord, where there was ample net hunting of seals, and in the neighbourhood of which many heathen consequently settled for the winter, there being at the end of the period more converts than heathen in the district.

About 1770 the most northerly settlement Upernivik was established in about lat. 73° N. The same signifies the "spring place," but it does not correspond to the idea, which one would naturally associate with such a name. Its situation on an outer island causes the surroundings to be bleak and barren, the climate to be more inclement than elsewhere in Greenland, and the dark period to last for seventy days. Add to this that there is scant access to fresh provisions, and it will be realized that the first Europeans suffered greatly here, particularly from scurvy, which incessantly ravaged them and at times killed them off by the dozen.

A post so lonely and exposed as the one which the missionary Dahl (1779—1787) found in this place has hardly been held by any other. Far

from colleagues and congenial friends, without any contact whatsoever with a living congregation, for ten to eleven months cut off from all communication with the outer world, and under difficult and depressing conditions, he was, spiritually, entirely left to his own resources. Therefore, it is all the more to be wondered at that under these conditions Dahl was able to work with untiring energy, and that he could obtain such great results, especially as every winter he suffered greatly from scurvy. When in 1787 he left Upernivik there was a congregation of 70 to 80 baptized individuals and some catechumens. But then his health was entirely broken, "as he had not been able to stand the climate, although he was a native of Iceland." He died six months after his return, and thus the first missionary at Upernivik had to pay for his devotion with his life.

His successor continued his work with the same energy and with marked success. But when, in 1787, the directors of the Royal Trading Company determined to give up the settlement, because it did not pay, the mission likewise had to be abandoned. During the last winter there had been 14 catechumens, and had the mission continued, a large number would have presented themselves for instruction the following winter. The converts declared their intention of moving to other mission stations, and as a matter of fact no less than 110 persons went to settle in Ũmánaq Bay, although most of them moved back after a few years, as they were unable to make a livelihood.

For all that the mission at Upernivik was, if not forgotten, at any rate suspended for more than a generation, but with their fidelity towards all they had learned and the memory of their teacher, the few converts who lived to see its revival bore testimony to the foundation having been well laid.

The great impulse which the mission received at this time was not merely due to the religious movement, but no less to the appointment of the first archdeacons in Greenland.¹

As the mission area was extended, and the work within the individual missions became more comprehensive, the need of a controlling and regulating authority was gradually realized, and consequently, in 1761, Poul Egede was appointed Superintendent (literally: Inspector and Archdeacon of the Greenland Mission). But being a resident of Copenhagen he had, in this respect, to limit his activity to correspondence with the mission workers and a few members of the congregations, which arrangement *a priori* was an unsatisfactory one, and became so more and more, particularly with the steadily increasing demand from Greenland for greater homogeneity in church management and rites, as well as in methods of instruction etc. "that no of-

¹) cf. The Church of Greenland of the Present Day, footnote, p. 244.

fence should be taken therefrom, and that the Moravians at any rate should not have this to reproach us with" (Fabricius).

At last the Mission College undertook to consider the matter, and in 1769 Glahn was offered the post of "visitator in Greenland." However, he refused, and for some years the matter remained unsettled, but it could no longer be delayed, and the ablest of the missionaries demanded it with increasing energy, being supported by Poul Egede, who furthermore maintained that there ought to be two archdeacons, as the sphere of activity would be too large for one person.

To this the Mission College was finally bound to agree, and in 1773 Thorhallesen was nominated archdeacon and visitator of South Greenland and Sverdrup of North Greenland. In the course of two or three years they were between them to visit all missions, and every third year to meet at Holsteinsborg for a conference. Their principal tasks were 1) to examine the state of knowledge, the life and economic position of the catechumens, as well as to catechize with the congregation, 2) to supervise the organization and economic position of the mission, as well as to devise improvements of the latter, 3) to examine the life and linguistic ability of the missionaries, to arrange about removals and to appoint missionaries and catechists, and finally 4) to work at the linguistic improvement of the New Testament and other books.

Through the activity of the archdeacons, the missionaries became a unity, and greater homogeneity was imparted to the work. The teaching at the schools became more systematic; more catechists were appointed, and greater care was taken about their training; also, a regular procedure was introduced with uniform church registers, and records and archives were established. As Sverdrup remained so much longer in office, this came to benefit North Greenland to a much larger extent than South Greenland. After the departure of Thorhallesen, he was appointed archdeacon of *all* Greenland, though without obligation to undertake voyages of visitation in the southern part of the country. But after his departure the position was unoccupied until the present century, although it was not less needed than formerly, and the demand for its re-establishment has been set forth, time after time, from Greenland.

The *practice and working method* then established for the mission was in its general features as follows:

The voyages of inspection in the districts—which were still in the main missionary voyages—were undertaken in summer and, as far as North Greenland was concerned, also during part of the winter. The missionary went to see the Greenlanders at their dwelling places and sealing or hunting grounds, and to spend some time in each place, where services and church functions were held, examinations of catechumens and school children carried out, and propaganda made among the heathen. The costs of these journeys were

strictly speaking to be defrayed by the Royal Trading Company, but the directors were very unwilling to do so and proposed that the clergymen should make use of the opportunity, when trading expeditions were to be undertaken. This, however, could not always be done with advantage, the population being then taken up with other matters, and besides the traders, who in 1770 had received orders to convey the clergymen from one place to another by means of the employees of the settlements, "*provided they had no other work to do*," frequently made arbitrary use of this limitation. Therefore, most clergymen preferred to provide themselves with umiaqs, rowers, tents, sledges etc. at their own cost, because for a conscientious missionary the *chief thing* was to get to the Greenlanders as frequently as possible. They did not receive any compensation for travelling expenses until much later, as the funds of the mission were always low.

Mention has already been made of the hardships and dangers frequently entailed by travelling. A few examples from this period should however be added. In the spring of 1775 Sverdrup was three weeks in getting back from Ritenbenk. The ice broke up, and he had to spend his time at a heathen dwelling place, where the lamps were extinguished, owing to lack of blubber, and where the population had nothing to live on but mussels and frozen whale hide. On a former occasion, during a sledge journey in storm and snow, his arm froze so that for a time it looked as if would have to be amputated, and he kept a reminder of it for the whole of his life.

When in the spring of 1783 the Godthaab clergyman, owing to the death of Laersen, was to superintend Sukkertoppen, he was away for eleven weeks and three days. Particularly the journey out was extremely strenuous. Of this he writes himself: "For besides being, at one place, greatly hemmed in by ice, so that my provisions gave out and I had to find provisions along the shore, consisting of seaweed and seagrass, I was beset by hard gales, lost the boat with everything belonging to it, and had to drift for twenty-four hours on a piece of ice, to venture to proceed on pieces of ice for about 4 miles to a naze whence, according to all human supposition, it was not possible to reach an inhabited place. But on Easter Day, with the greatest difficulty, we made our way over land and sea on pieces of ice lying close to each other."

At the end of September or the beginning of October, when the summer journeys of the Greenlanders were at an end, the instruction of the catechumens began, which was continued throughout the winter on all week days, most frequently early in the morning or in the evening after dark, in order not to prevent the men from following their trade. As far as possible the catechumens were taught to read, but in the case of the many older and quite old persons who had difficulty in learning, this was given up, and they were merely taught by word of mouth "until they themselves can read some piece or other." At catechization, which took place every evening for those

who were being instructed for baptism, the passages read were gone over and illustrated by practical examples, the teacher all the time trying to make sure that they had really understood it.

As regards the administering of baptism the object aimed at was, as far as possible, to make the catechumens ready in one winter, as otherwise there was danger that they might forget everything in the course of their wandering life in summer, so that in the following year it would prove necessary to begin once more from the very beginning. But this could naturally not be done in all cases. Many had to keep on receiving instruction for two or more winters. Glahn even reports of two old women who had received instruction for six years running. As he was on the point of going back, he baptized them at last, because it was hopeless to expect that they would learn more.

But otherwise caution was shown, both as regards the individuals who were received for baptismal instruction, and as regards the administering of baptism. As far as possible it was attempted, before proceeding to baptismal instruction, to ascertain whether it was a case of real longing and seeking. It is true that for instance Glahn was of opinion that it was a very serious matter to delay their baptism, "when they earnestly desire it and their knowledge is at all passable," but he adds that "one cannot be too cautious in this respect, as experience shows that one is still apt to be deceived." And for a time Sverdrup did not dare to baptize catechumens at Ritenbenk, because there was no catechist, and he was afraid that they would relapse if left to themselves.

As regards admittance to the Lord's Table the rule was: not too early and not too frequently, and upon the whole great caution was shown, particularly the first time. With the great religious movement, the number of communicants increased greatly. At first it was common that those baptized were prepared for their first communion by being instructed in the right use of the sacrament. But later on this was in many places extended to apply to every communion; for instance, Sverdrup always prepared the communicants by teaching them for a couple of hours throughout a week or so. And baptized persons who had forgotten their catechism could be kept from the sacrament of the communion, until they had studied so much themselves as to revive their knowledge. This custom was kept up through several generations.

At an early period it became the habit to have morning and evening prayers with those baptized, as a rule in the largest house of the dwelling place or, by turn, in the various houses, at church festivals or also, when there were many travellers, in the church or the meeting-house, wherever such existed. The chief object of these prayer meetings was to keep up the Christian knowledge of the converts. At first they were generally held by the catechists, but it was not long before the more zealous clergymen took them over, either entirely or in part, because there was here a good opportunity of practising the language.

The morning prayers were the first to be given up. The evening prayers were kept up far into the 19th century, but they gradually passed to the catechists, and the whole thing might sometimes degenerate into an empty custom, so that when people were called to prayers it was done in the words: "Come here to talk!" instead of: "Come here to pray!" At last a zealous missionary took matters into his own hands, and reformed the custom, which however lost its chief importance according as the community came to consist exclusively of people who had been baptized in their childhood.

The Church discipline was, by the wish of the Mission College, very mild, chiefly consisting in "gentle persuasion, remonstrance and exhortation." In cases of immoral conduct it should be attempted to remove one of the offending parties from the district. When a baptized person persevered in depravity, he could be denied admittance to the Lord's Table "until he perceptibly improved his manner of living, "but it was not permitted to expel him from the community of the church, lest the frail brother be hardened." Only in case a baptized person committed murder, "should he not be tolerated within the congregation, until he had reconciled himself with the blood avenger, and shown sincere repentance and longing for association with the congregation."

As regards the education of the young, the number of children taught was not insignificant, and this in spite of the fact that teaching took place, either in a Greenland house or in the room of the clergyman. Also, in spite of the extremely deficient supply of teachers and vehicles for instruction, the result obtained was exceptionally good. As early as 1766 there were 34 school children at Jacobshavn and ten years later twice that number; at Claushavn there were in the seventies of the 18th century "frequently from 40 to 50 and more." These children generally in their eleventh, twelfth, nay sometimes in their tenth year were able to read with ease any Greenlandic book, besides knowing the catechism and part of the explanation by heart. And the knowledge acquired was not left as a dead treasure. The desire for reading was so great that the books which were printed and sent up to Greenland were carried off at once. Saabye testifies to the fact that the Greenlanders, already in his days, frequently "wrote to one another and even to me." And the desire for reading and writing united, when any kind of translation, irrespective of its contents, was copied and passed from hand to hand, until the paper was worn out.

An impartial witness wrote at the end of the 18th century: "Whereas not one of the Greenlanders of the Moravian Mission is able to read writing, and only very few can read a book, all of the converts of the Danish mission can read and many even write intelligibly." A better report on the instruction of the young as administered by the Danish mission one can hardly wish for.

Even at the end of this period there was no great *literature* in the Greenlandic language. In 1744 Poul Egede published the four Gospels, which were reprinted, in 1758, together with the Acts of the Apostles, and in 1766 the whole of the New Testament. Also, in 1750, he published the first Greenland Dictionary and, in 1760, a grammar. All these were, however, full of errors and incomplete, and so endeavours were constantly made at improving them, most of the missionaries sending home translations of parts of the New Testament, and supplements to the dictionary and grammar. The second edition of the Testament appeared in 1792, the second editions of the dictionary and grammar in 1801 and 1804 respectively, all undertaken by Fabricius. Books of hymns appeared in 1761, 1776, 1779 and 1788; the two later editions, the numbers of which were extremely different (116, 166 and 582), were used at the same time indiscriminately. Text-book and ritual for a long time only existed in copies written by hand, which were constantly patched up by nearly all missionaries, and frequently not in such a manner as to improve them. Not until 1777 was the text-book printed, but at that time it was still so full of errors that Sverdrup saw occasion to send thoroughly corrected copies to all the missions within his archdeaconry. The ritual was printed in 1783. Besides the editions here mentioned, and repeated editions of spelling primers and Luthers catechism, no other books were published during the first century of the mission than Thomas à Kempis in Poul Egede's translation (1787), a small book of bible narratives for children (1818) and a larger one for adults (1820), both composed by Fabricius.

The Moravians never used the books of the Danish mission, but exclusively their own, which either only existed in written copies or were printed in Germany, as for instance a harmony of the four Gospels 1778 and a book of hymns (304 nos); the latter, however, in all probability had two predecessors.

Like the Moravians, the missionaries also interested themselves in the economic affairs of those baptized, but in a different manner and more in accordance with conditions in the country.

As the missions at first consisted mostly of women, children and poor people, many heathen "despised and loathed the thought of going to instruction and of being in their society." Also several of the employees of the trading companies greatly despised the converts whom they called "rabble or dishonest payers," and it was maintained that it was the mission which "makes the Greenlanders thriftless" and "accustoms them to idleness." It was in all probability this kind of accusation which made the most zealous of the missionaries take such a serious interest in the economic affairs of their congregations, exhorting them to diligence and steadiness in their occupations, and to take care that they did not neglect going about to collect provisions in summer, the drying of meat and fish, the gathering of turf, driftwood etc. Many of the missionaries provided themselves with

boats and implements, thus also in this respect becoming pioneers, like for instance, Sverdrup, Laersen and Glahn. During this period the Danish mission also succeeded in teaching its converts in such a manner that they were not inferior to the heathen in technical skill and economic ability, but even, in several respects, surpassed them. Thus Sverdrup was able to prove, by means of dry figures, that the Christians at Jacobshavn caught proportionally far more white whales annually than the unbaptized Eskimos.

According as the Gospel made greater and greater progress, and not least after the great religious movement, it could not be prevented that the Greenlanders, in great numbers, gathered round the missions. There were many who presented themselves for baptismal instruction, which for practical reasons had to be communicated to them during a continuous period, and it was always rather a risky matter to leave the newly baptized to their own resources "without close supervision and constant instruction." Consequently, more people were at times assembled in one place than was justified by the means of livelihood to be found there. But this danger was realized as early as in the time of Hans Egede who, with great energy, asserted the necessity of having native assistants or catechists, and the warning given by the example of the Moravian Brethren, who concentrated their flocks round a few places, pointed in the same direction. The result was that practically all the Danish missionaries took good care, as far as possible, to distribute their converts in the "nearest places" of the districts, and the many small congregations which were thus formed were provided with teachers, trained by themselves. The two superintendents, particularly, were very enthusiastic in such attempts, but, whereas Thorhallesen chiefly employed Danish catechists, Sverdrup broke completely away from this principle and, as mentioned above, established an actual training college for natives, and these pupils, even after 60 to 70 years, were described as "some of the ablest catechists who had ever lived in Greenland."

Therefore, it is an extremely unjust accusation, which has frequently been brought against the Danish mission, that it was apt to concentrate the Greenlanders around a few places, thus separating them from their national occupations and contributing to their impoverishment. In the case of the Moravians, however, the utter failure of this principle revealed itself with rapidly increasing strength towards the end of the century. The produce supplied to the Royal Trading Company, never very large, decreased more and more, so that in 1793 twenty-five providers at Neu Herrnhut did not supply half the amount furnished by four men belonging to the Danish mission. And soon complaints began to make themselves generally heard of the "poverty and miserable state of the Moravian Greenlanders." Every winter they starved and had to be supported by the traders who gave them provisions as well as with seal oil for their lamps. The Government frequently issued orders to the Moravian missionaries to take care to make their converts

spread throughout the district, the only result being, however, that a few families made a feint of moving out, returning as soon as the opportunity offered. That the Moravian Greenlanders were not spiritually mature enough to stand alone was *inter alia* corroborated by the fact that, in 1801, a case of matricide, caused by superstition, occurred among converts who had moved away from the station.

Also in this period the obstacles which were placed in the way of the mission by the Danish settlers were not inconsiderable. Even Berthel Laersen who found all the support he could wish for with his own trader declares that "it is now a cause of wide-spread misery at the settlements that there are still Europeans there who by their evil example, in word and deed, destroy more than a teacher is able to build up in a short time." Therefore, there were not many missionaries who had not, on one or several occasions, uttered the wish that the mission "might be separated by some distance from the settlement," but not until the inspectorates had been established in 1782, did conditions improve somewhat in so far as discipline was now more strictly maintained, and it was as a rule possible to remove ineligible persons. And as regards the direct counteracting of the missionaries and their work by those engaged in the trading, as had formerly often occurred, the troubles of the mission, after the establishment of the inspectorates, were to all intents and purposes at an end. With a few exceptions the relation between the inspectors and the mission was good, the former supporting and collaborating with the latter wherever possible. And this was particularly the case in North Greenland, where the influence of Sverdrup also in this respect made itself felt, far beyond his actual stay in the country.

Such *obstacles* to the mission as might have been expected to result from the close presence of heathendom did not, therefore, make themselves very much felt. Only rarely does one hear of converts having allowed themselves to be "conjured" over, or of having taken part in the conjuring of spirits or other heathen rites. Thus Egede Saabye only experienced a single case of this within his term of service, which extended over eight years. Still rarer were the cases where converts took part in the murdering of witches, although such now and again occurred, even at a very late period and in the immediate vicinity of the Christians.

What the missionaries particularly had to combat in the whole of this period, as a legacy from heathendom and a contagion from its immediate presence, was *looseness in marital relations*. It frequently happened that "those baptized, according to the custom of the heathens, take wives by force from among those unbaptized," that husbands, without further ado, turn away their wives and take new ones, while wives frequently leave their husbands for the sake of another. Sometimes there was nothing to be done, except after a suitable period, by tacit agreement, to look upon the marriage as dissolved, and to marry such persons a second time in order to

prevent further scandal. Also marriages between baptized and unbaptized for a long time continued to cause difficulties. Some missionaries were very ready to marry such couples, hoping that the unbaptized party would soon become a convert. The missionaries who consulted the superintendents of the Mission College, however, received the answer that this was "not advisable, but that the best proceeding was first to persuade the unbaptized party to let her—or himself be instructed and baptized."

The problem which caused the greatest difficulty was the attitude to be taken towards polygamy. Some of the missionaries were of opinion that a baptized man should be permitted to keep all his wives, there being otherwise danger that "the rejected one return to the heathen in her crass ignorance, nay, that the whole family turn back and be lost" (Fabricius). But the attitude of the College was wavering and uncertain. At times it refused point blank as in the case of the unbaptized man of whom Saabye tells in his diary that, in spite of his ardent longing for baptism, he would not break his faith with his concubine, and expressed the hope that "Great God in his heaven is more merciful than the masters of thy country." But a very few years later permission was given, in certain cases, to baptize men with their several wives, even though they refused to divorce the latter as "this is better than that they remain in heathendom." Not until 1792 was a general permission given for the baptism of such households. Still, it was not permitted to marry them, "for it is said: the twain (not the three) are one flesh."

It has already been mentioned how, towards the end of this period, a visionary movement broke out in the Sukkertoppen District, which was a curious medley of Greenlandic superstition relating to dreams, of badly digested Moravian Christianity and remains of heathendom, but which spread with incredible rapidity and for a time threatened to be a danger to the mission.

This movement originated in a woman, Maria Magdalene, and her husband Habakuk, who lived at Evigheds Fiord. It began by her announcing, in the spring of 1787, that she had had "revelations" which she wrote down and sent to the missionary Hveyssel, the successor of Laersen, with an injunction to act according to them, as people, in her opinion, would then learn to "be better." The clergyman came to see her, trying to "prove by means of the Bible that it was a false pretence and warned her to endeavour to avoid falsehood and calumny," and for the time being the movement seemed to have been checked without spreading very far.

But about Christmas 1788 it broke out afresh. This time the reason was that a Greenlander at Evigheds Fiord had heard "the sound of singing and instruments in the air" and had seen a "large crowd of the souls of departed persons hovering in the air, at some short distance from the ground." Maria Magdalene again maintained having had revelations, and having held secret converse with the dead." The Day of Judgment was near; God was angry at

the lack of faith of those people, who two years ago had contradicted her, and also at the ungodliness of the Greenlanders, chiefly consisting in their having neglected the good Moravian rites, which the late Mr. Laersen had introduced among them." And this time the visionary movement could not be checked. In the fiord it passed from one dwelling place to another, and in the spring when communication with the outer world was again possible, it spread still farther. The same phenomena were heard of in several parts of the district, even at the settlement. And in the summer of 1789, when the population met at the reindeer hunts in the interior, the movement was actually organized around Maria Magdalene, who stood forth as a prophetess and the leader of the new congregation. A travesty of a church service was established, where the congregation alternately wept to the singing of hymns and kissed to the tune of wild laughter choruses and, at last, singing and jubiling, passed on to the churchyard where they knelt, singing, at the graves of the dead. The prophetess exercised a severe church discipline, sentencing people to exile, thrashing, even to death, and her sentences were executed without any hesitation. At any rate two old women are reported to have been driven to their death by her, partly by torture, and partly by threats.

Both Christians and heathen joined the movement, until at last the whole population of the district was influenced by it and resolved to move together to Evigheds Fiord. Even most of the catechists "took the part of the madwoman" until the missionary was entirely powerless and could do nothing. When he came to them and tried to persuade them to give up their evil practices, they did not deign to defend themselves, but silently turned their backs on him or began to sing hymns in order not to be perverted by his "ungodly talk." At last Hveyssel, in his great trouble, turned to the inspector at Godthaab who, however, would not agree to converting the Greenlanders "à la Mexico", but advised him to employ spiritual means. The catechist Frederik Berthelsen, who had always supported the mission, was willing to go to Evigheds Fiord "that he might, if possible, check this evil," but Hveyssel was afraid that it might cost the life of the catechist, unless the originator of the movement and her principal helpers were punished and removed. In Copenhagen, also, such a step was considered necessary. Fabricius, who after the death of Egede acted as adviser of the Mission College, even wanted to do away with the woman, "in whatever manner possible." This, however, did not prove necessary, as the movement burst its own bounds. Already in the course of the autumn of 1789, through the representations of the clergyman and Fr. Berthelsen, a few were brought to see their error, and when Habakuk, whom the prophetess because of his extreme devotion had called by the name of Jesus, and who had acted officially as a kind of confessor to the women, was proved to have been guilty of adultery with several of them, the movement was shaken to its foundation. In 1790

Hveyssel was able to report that the "visionaries" had largely lost their power. Maria Magdalene and Habakuk were now reckoned to be of no account, "all Greenlanders having promised and protested that they would never let themselves be led astray by them."

In 1792 every trace of the movement had disappeared—for the time being. It was frustrated so quickly, because it had not found time to spread to the other districts, which might otherwise have been a great danger; only in the Holsteinsborg and Godthaab Districts were a few people more or less influenced by it. But it was not dead, and as soon as occasion offered, it again flared up. In the minds of the Greenlanders it left a deep and lasting impression, and to this very day any spiritual movement which is a little beyond the ordinary is called "Habakukianism."

The period which has been dealt with above may, with good justice, be called the flourishing of the mission; indeed, within these years the Christianizing of Greenland can be said to have been completed. At its conclusion the Gospel had been preached over the whole of the west coast, up to about lat. 73° N.; there were ten Danish and three Moravian missions, and there were Christian communities in all regions, even farthest south and north, although Upernivik had again been abandoned. Apart from the outer districts there were not many heathen left, and the latter only awaited an opportunity to be converted. Also the difference in the general tone of life among the population, at the beginning and the end of the period, is very striking—formerly mainly heathen, now mainly Christian. Murders of "witches" occurred extremely rarely; blood vengeance was a thing of the past, and the word of the *angákoqs* had no longer any power, while the uncertainty, which at the beginning of the period characterized life in these parts, was now replaced by a certain security. That the new life, however, as already mentioned, suffered from various drawbacks is a thing apart, but it does not contradict what has been said here.

IV. THE DARK PERIOD.

(1792—1845)

In 1788, shortly before his death, Poul Egede wrote: "The state of the mission to-day is good, and there is reason to hope that it will improve." This hope, unfortunately, was not to be fulfilled. Like other Danish missions, that of Greenland was confronted with the fact that the end of the 18th century was not a favourable period for missionary work, and only the solid foundation which had been laid and the comparatively high stage of development reached, prevented it from breaking down altogether.

Already at an earlier period the winds which were now blowing had been rather unfavorable to the mission, as for instance regarding the collections made within the congregations for the use of the Church, the directors of the Royal Trading Company first demanding that the missionaries should dissuade the Greenlanders from making such collections, and at a later period even wishing to issue a regular prohibition against the same. Therefore, it was only to be expected that when, in 1791, the Committee of the Exchequer attempted to make the public accounts balance, the Greenland mission came to suffer very severely.

By a Royal Decree the Mission College was informed that in future the amount granted to the mission by the trade, would not exceed 2,263 rigsdaler yearly and, as hitherto, free board, light and fuel for a missionary and a catechist at each of the four stations, Godthaab, Holsteinsborg, Christianshaab and Jacobshavn.

As thus more than half of the allowances granted ceased, together with all the other salaries in money and in kind which had hitherto been defrayed by the Royal Trading Company, either entirely or to be deducted from the 5000 rigsdaler which had been granted from former times, and as the missionary funds, apart from this, only amounted to a little more than 1200 rigsdaler in yearly interest and contributions, this arrangement was tantamount to a very considerable loss of income on the part of the mission. The members of the College were aghast, and did not see their way to continue the work in Greenland. Fabricius was deeply indignant: "The kingdom of Christ has been greatly increased by this mission, however little has been rumoured about it, owing to lack of sufficient information given to the public. Is economy now to be carried so far that religion is sacrificed to it?" But at first he could see no way of continuing with such restricted means, and so it was the other members of the College, who came to lay down the lines along which the future work of the mission was to be carried on.

By regulations issued on April 24th, 1792, it was decreed that "the Greenland mission should hereafter be administered by five missionaries only, *viz.* those of Julianehaab, Frederikshaab, Holsteinsborg, Claushavn and Ũmánaq. The other stations had to content themselves with catechist leaders" who were to undertake home baptisms and burials, to instruct and to hold prayer meetings, as well as to supervise the other catechists and teachers. These stations were subjected to the missionaries as "annexes", and were to be visited at least once a year. Of the four Greenland churches then existing, *viz.* those of Frederikshaab, Godthaab, Holsteinsborg and Jacobshavn, full service could thus only be held in two of them on the few occasions when the missionary came to visit them. The salary of the missionary was raised from 200 to 300 rigsdaler, and the expenses incurred by the five annexes were calculated at 100 rigsdaler, the whole of the yearly expenditure thus amounting to 3,467 rigsdaler. But as this was practically

the entire yearly income of the mission, a yearly deficit was unavoidable, at first about 1000 rigsdaler, later on considerably more.

For this arrangement the College, as already suggested, bore the sole responsibility. Fabricius was not consulted any more, neither were the directors of the Royal Trading Company. It is true that the Mission College had at first made an attempt at collaboration with the latter, but as it proved that their arguments were rather of the character of injunctions than of friendly recommendations, the negotiations were broken off, and the College followed its own course.

As was to be expected this greatly angered the directors of the trading company. In a letter addressed to the inspectors the latter were made acquainted with the restriction, and then came the following remark: "Owing to this measure having been resolved upon without our knowledge, there has been no occasion for us, first to investigate whether the change in the affairs of the mission was convenient or not to the trading company, which, considering the importance of the matter, there might have been reason to expect." Further, the inspectors were instructed to report how many catechists there were in the district, the total amount of their salaries etc. in order to learn "whether the money supplied by us be used properly."

But behind the anger there was a very justifiable anxiety about the future, manifesting itself in the request addressed to the inspectors, *viz.* that they should, as soon as possible, report "whether it was to be feared that this sudden reduction of the staff of religious teachers would cause a detrimental sensation among a people so unenlightened as the Greenlanders, and as to the influence or effect which it might have on the affairs of the trade generally as well as regards individual places."

The inspector of South Greenland, particularly, held very dark views of the future. Among other things he feared that the visionary movement, which by his laudable, indefatigable zeal the missionary Hveyssel had succeeded in checking, would spring up once more—"God guard us from this! as in the course of this so much evil will be done, as the high Mission College never might imagine, nor anyone by force could guard against." Also, the arrangement itself seems to him so strange that no one, who has the least knowledge of the local affairs of the country would have been able to think of it, as it is bound to make Christians visionaries and heathen. The missionary of Holsteinsborg is to have Egedesminde and Sukkertoppen as annexes "than the which he might nearly as well have one situated in the moon, if he is to supervise what he has." The one is situated two hundred miles to the north, and the other a hundred and twenty miles to the south of his dwelling. And in the same manner Godthaab, as an annexe to a settlement situated about a hundred and twenty miles farther south, is administered and instructed by the missionary residing there, whose district thus extends over 240 to 280 miles. Although he does not wish that

the Moravian mission should spread farther in Greenland, he is almost inclined to consider it the best plan that, instead of this, Godthaab should be subjected to them, if this were not an infringement of the honour which is due to the memory of the immortal bishop, Hans Egede." And both inspectors were agreed about the fact that the only thing which to some extent might remedy the effects of the reduction would be to appoint many able native catechists. But as the directors of the Royal Trading Company declared themselves willing to "increase our expenses to the mission with the amount necessary for this purpose, provided the inspectors would *guarantee* that it would really help matters," neither of them ventured to do so, at any rate not until a proper school had been founded, where the native population might be trained as able teachers.

However, the reduction was effected, although not exactly in the manner indicated by the regulations. The missionary at Godthaab declared, as was to be expected, without the slightest hesitation that it would be impossible for him to administer the Sukkertoppen and Egedesminde Districts as annexes, for which reason the latter, as early as in 1793, was subjected to the Disko Bay mission. Here also the plan set forth in the regulations was soon altered. For in 1793 the mission at Ūmánaq had tried to interest the Mission College in a plan of incorporating Upernivik in the mission area by the appointment of a catechist, "that the converts living there should not immediately relapse into heathendom." The College declared itself in agreement with this view, but as it was wished that Upernivik, in that case, should be supervised by a missionary, the mission areas of North Greenland were re-arranged in such a manner that one of the missionaries was to administer Christianshaab, Claushavn, Jacobshavn, Ritenbenk and Ūmánaq and the other Egedesminde, Disko and Upernivik. This arrangement, however, proved very unpractical. Not only did the main object fail utterly, in that it proved impossible to induce any catechist to move to remote Upernivik, nor are any of the missionaries known to have visited this place, but also the missionary of the interior part of Disko Bay had some difficulty in managing Upernivik, and it was by no means every year that he succeeded in visiting it. The arrangement, however, remained in force for a number of years, because there were no funds to appoint a third missionary in North Greenland. In South Greenland the state of affairs was that the missionary of Frederikshaab, for a number of years, moved backwards and forwards between this place and Godthaab, and stayed for a year or two in each place. But this arrangement did not please the College, because Frederikshaab was the larger and, as a rule, had many catechumens. Thus Godthaab was in 1806 subjected to Holsteinsborg as an annexe, which step, however, did not serve to improve matters.

Otherwise the missionaries were not wanting in zeal and energy. Most of them did their best, and were in constant activity in order to keep the work

going along the old lines. Less than ever, they spared themselves the hardships entailed by travelling in the Arctic in order to visit as frequently as possible the overwhelmingly large mission areas. At the annexes they spent several weeks, or even months at a time, carrying on for instance the completion of catechumen and baptismal instruction, and with these as their starting point supervising the frequently very extensive districts appertaining.

But the impracticability of the new arrangement became throughout all the more glaring. Not only did the missionaries tire physically of the ever restless life which they were obliged to lead, but they were particularly depressed by the realization of how little they were able to accomplish, not only by way of personal influence on the individuals, but also by way of actual supervision and guidance of the congregations entrusted to their care. Several of them, and the very ablest at that, repeatedly requested to be exempt from a task which they could no longer accomplish in a creditable manner. But it should be said in their praise that they did not get blunted or indifferent as regards their work, when the College demanded that they should stay their appointed time—according to the new arrangement, ten years for married and six for unmarried missionaries.

The unsatisfactoriness of the arrangement made itself particularly felt in North Greenland. Even apart from Upernivik there were still many heathen, and then the number of missionaries in these very parts was reduced from five to two, whereas Julianehaab and Frederikshaab, which might also be reckoned as one mission field, had kept a missionary each. Therefore, the impracticability of the work was felt so strongly by the North Greenland missionaries that one of them, after ten years of indefatigable work, arrived at the conclusion that no headway could be made except by adopting the old method of Hans Egede, *viz.* to baptize the children of the heathen, in which manner the parents might be won over. This proceeding, however, was opposed by Fabricius.

Still, in spite of the reduction, “the dark period” was not without its bright spots, particularly in the mission work proper.

There was constantly an abundant stream of heathen to the missions in the north as well as in the south. In 1798 there were so many catechumens at Julianehaab that it became necessary to appoint three new catechists. As early as in 1805 the Danish mission had 653 baptized persons distributed over fifteen dwelling places, and during the latter year 36 heathen were baptized. Besides, the Moravian congregation in the district numbered more than 400 members. The number of those unbaptized was estimated at about 700 and long remained high, owing to immigration from the east coast. At Frederikshaab 227 heathen were baptized from 1796 to 1806, of whom even as many as 83 were baptized in 1803. At a single dwelling place two young native catechists had, of their own accord, instructed 15 heathen, and had

done it so well that the missionary was able to baptize them as soon as he arrived, and this also happened later in several other places. By 1800 there were in Ūmánaq 513 baptized persons, and every winter several catechumens were baptized during the visit of the missionary.

That the life within the congregation also remained active is testified to, *inter alia*, by the number of communicants. For instance, in the Frederikshaab District large communions were celebrated, not infrequently for more than a hundred persons. But otherwise there were many drawbacks, which undoubtedly must be ascribed to the reduction. Thus superstition spread—among other places at Ūmánaq—and many of the converts regarded baptism as a kind of amulet, which made them sure of heaven, while otherwise they rather lived like heathen. The old heathen customs also began to gain fresh ground, so that for instance, in many places, a strong inclination manifested itself towards getting rid of husbands or wives or towards taking concubines. And it must undoubtedly be ascribed to the same cause, when the mixed race, about 1800, was generally characterized as overbearing, self-opiniative, dissatisfied and refractory towards the Danes.

However, worse than anything else was the fact that the visionary movement in the Sukkertoppen District again flared up.

By the first mail in 1803 the trader of the settlement reported to inspector Myhlenphort that the Greenlanders at Evigheds Fiord “during this winter have recommenced their prophetic teaching— —which a long time ago had caused their teacher, the catechist, to leave them for fear of being ill-treated.”

The inspector immediately reported the matter to Copenhagen. It was true, he said, that Habakuk and Maria Magdalene were dead, but “their nonsense they have left to their sons and daughters and the whole of their family, who follow in the steps of the departed.” The matter was all the more dangerous now, as the College with inconceivable short-sightedness had given up the mission in this very place. The inspector did all in his power “in order to prevent the further advance of this evil.” He travelled up there, as soon as possible, to speak to the originators, and he persuaded Fr. Berthelsen, who had also immediately taken matters into his own hands and with all his might and main had worked counter to the visionary movement, to move to the place “where these prophetic souls live, and beyond a doubt he will restore the old order.” The following year the inspector was able to write that “now nothing is heard of the nonsense of the Greenlanders, as to the establishment of a new sect,” but for all that it was not plain sailing. Fr. Berthelsen reported at the same time that “they were tractable as long as I was with them, but they were not in earnest.” And as late as 1813 he says in a letter to Myhlenphort: “I cannot leave these people. I am afraid that when I am not with them, another prophet will soon arise; the false belief has not yet been quite extinguished among the Habakukians.”

As already appears from what has been said above, the inspectors and particularly Myhlenphort during this difficult period greatly assisted the mission. It was also he who conceived a plan which, if it had been carried into effect, would have made the Greenlanders more advanced in point of education and culture than they now are.

Under the pressure of the above-mentioned unfortunate consequences of the reduction of the mission funds, and fully acknowledging its present powerlessness and the need of able catechists and teachers he had, on several occasions, pointed out to the directors of the Royal Trading Company that "the teaching institutes in Greenland are most imperfect," and further he had set forth proposals, both as regards books for the enlightenment of the people and a better training of teachers. As this coincided with the statements of the former inspectors, as well as with the spirit of the times, the directors in 1804 made an offer to the College to the effect that seminaries, under the superintendence of inspectors, should be established for the training of native teachers and settlers, on condition that the activity of the missionaries should in the main be limited to these schools.

As this would reduce the mission to a mere work of enlightenment, Fabricius protested so forcibly that the College refused unconditionally, at the same time sending in a petition that the support which had been withdrawn from it in 1791 should be restored, so as to enable it to increase the number of missionaries. This, it is true, did not happen, but in 1806 the directors asked for permission to establish such training schools at Godthaab and Godhavn, the funds for which were to be supplied by a percentage payment out of the production of the trade. No more than the former, did this proposal meet with the approval of Fabricius, but the College enthusiastically accepted the offer, and in Greenland everybody was very keen about the matter. The inspectors corresponded with each other about it; the missionaries communicated their views and plans for "such an institute for the training of school teachers and the advance of the work of enlightenment," and they were all willing to take part in the teaching. These schools were to be situated at Godthaab and Godhavn, and besides the common subjects, such as religion, reading, writing and arithmetic, the curriculum was to comprise Danish grammar, kayaking, practising of sealing, various trades, as well as such perfectly modern subjects as hygiene, the knowledge of the human body and of the natural produce of the country and the methods for the improvement of the same.

But then came the war with England, putting an end to this as well as to all other plans. And if the mission had had a hard time since the reduction, it was now destined to pass through an ordeal such as never before. The ships of the Royal Trading Company were captured by the English; shipping ceased almost entirely; imports became less and less; rations were gradually reduced to a mere minimum; fresh provisions were not to be had, because

there was no ammunition and nothing to pay with, and during the last years of the war the country was destitute of everything required for "the decent maintenance of life — clothes, linen, sheets, bedding etc. etc." (Hartz). Conditions were worst in South Greenland, because the supply was least, and the activity of the missionaries was limited considerably, not merely because all communion wine, paper, writing materials, books etc. were exhausted, but also because no journeys could be undertaken, as it was impossible to obtain provisions for the crews of boats.

It was in all probability chiefly owing to this state of affairs that the missionaries of South Greenland left the country. The first to leave was the most prominent of them, Wolf. He was very loath to go, but he thought himself justified in doing so. In 1809 he had sent home his wife and two children, but the vessel was wrecked, and they came ashore in Bergen, whence they literally had to beg their way as far as Copenhagen. Since their departure he had not heard from them, and he was constantly ill himself with scurvy and consumption. Still, he did not think of leaving his post, although he daily felt how unsatisfactory it was to be tied to his abode, with all the disquieting rumours of conditions within the Sukkertoppen and Holsteinsborg districts. But in July 1811 his colleagues arrived from Julianehaab and Frederikshaab, where the state of affairs was terrible, because provisions were almost entirely consumed, and the pack ice had cut off all communication. With most other Europeans down there they had gone on board the schooner "Sælhunden," which was generally stationed off Julianehaab, that they might, by travelling to some country or other, save themselves from starvation. As they now learned that, in the following year, conditions would improve somewhat owing to the arrival of a ship in the country, they resolved to stay. So Wolf turned over his mission area to them, and together with a great number of other Europeans he started on the dangerous journey in a small vessel, the sole navigator of which was an assistant trader, who had been a sailor in his youth. However, they succeeded in their bold adventure, and when Wolf was back in Copenhagen, he immediately reported to the Mission College on conditions in Greenland. After this the College did not dare to try to keep the missionaries in Greenland, but gave them their choice as to whether they wanted to go home or stay, promising them, however, a considerable addition to their salary, if they chose the latter. But as conditions had become still worse in the course of the winter, they did not dare to run the risk of staying, and they returned in 1812, having, by the decision of the College, distributed the mission areas between the ablest of the catechist leaders and requested Myhlenphort to superintend the mission and everything pertaining thereto, which he did most conscientiously. And so South Greenland for some years was left to its own resources.

In North Greenland conditions were somewhat better, partly because

these places were reached by more vessels than South Greenland with the dreaded pack ice, and partly because the population received some relief from the English whalers. Nor was the activity of the missionaries quite so circumscribed here, as communion wine, paper, books etc. sometimes came to hand, and at any rate winter journeys could be undertaken, for which all that was required was provisions for a couple of men.

Here the missionaries remained somewhat longer, perhaps partly because they had both married women who were half Greenlanders. Bram at Jacobshavn remained for a year longer than his appointed time of service, and every year travelled over the whole of his large district; as late as his last winter he even spent several weeks at Ūmánaq. But in 1813 he had to go home, as his health was entirely broken, and Hartz at Egedesminde then remained the only missionary in the whole of Greenland. He moved to Jacobshavn, the situation of which was more central, and from there—in spite of constant attacks of scurvy—he conscientiously travelled along the whole of the coast from North Ström Fiord to Svartenhuk, that is five degrees of latitude, or about as far as the coast of Norway from Lindesnæs to Trondhjem.

The immense responsibility which now entirely devolved upon Hartz weighed heavily on his shoulders, and so he wrote at once to the College, pointing out what would be the serious results of the country thus being almost entirely deprived of missionaries. And when at the same time Myhlenphort declared that the departure of the missionaries from South Greenland had “caused sensation among the population,” Fr. Berthelsen, who, according to Wolf, “possesses rare knowledge and by his righteous life gives the most beautiful example,”—was appointed a missionary, and in July 1815 he was ordained by Hartz at Holsteinsborg, whence he moved to Godthaab.

Although, at the time of his ordination, he was sixty-five years of age, Berthelsen remained in the service of the mission for twelve years, to the full satisfaction of the College, after which period he retired and died in 1828. Particularly during his first years of office, he performed a great and energetic work. In 1815 he conducted a number of church functions at Holsteinsborg and Sukkertoppen, *inter alia* four confirmations in August and September. In 1817 he again spent more than three months in this districts; in 1816 he was at Frederikshaab for about a month, conducted church functions, held divine services and school examinations everywhere in the districts and baptized a number of catechumens. In 1818 he was there again from the middle of May till the end of June.

With the arrival of new missionaries from Denmark his life, at last, became somewhat easier, as Holsteinsborg and Sukkertoppen got their own missionary and Frederikshaab was subjected to Julianehaab, so that he only had the Godthaab and Fiskernæsset districts, which for that matter were more than sufficient for a man of seventy years of age. —

In 1816 Hartz could not stand it any longer, but left for home, and now it was North Greenland which was without missionaries. But at that time things began to improve somewhat, missionaries being again sent out from Denmark in 1817.

It is hardly an exaggeration to assert that the war 1807 to 1814 was the greatest calamity which ever happened to the Danish colonization and mission in Greenland, from its beginning until our own days. For a very long period it stopped all development, indeed, one may say that the effects make themselves felt to this very day. Not merely did it delay the complete plan for the training of teachers, but also other plans as to improved social conditions, legislation etc. which are only at the present time on the point of being carried into effect. And for the mission the catastrophe became still worse, because it occurred at a period when it was greatly weakened.

And as frequently happens, also other misfortunes followed in its wake. During the years of the war there were several earthquakes, cyclones, unusual masses of drift ice and particularly unsettled climatic conditions, causing the failure of the national trades. Also, the country was throughout, from one end to the other, ravaged by various epidemics, among others an unknown but extremely infectious disease which cropped up in the Ūmánaq District in the summer of 1812, and in the course of a very short period carried away 149 individuals.

This in conjunction with the fact that the stores were entirely emptied of ammunition and other merchandise and, not least, the lack of missionaries, brought about an actual dissolution of the social conditions created by means of colonization and mission, which it would take a long time to set right again.

Nearly everywhere there was an increasing indifference in the attitude of the population towards the Danes. The mineralogist Giesecke and the missionary Wolf agreed in the opinion that the Greenlanders "now despise the Europeans and generally leave them to starve." In a few places, as for instance at Frederikshaab and Fiskernæsset, their attitude became one of rank insubordination and mutiny, and at one of the outposts of Godthaab the Greenlanders threatened to murder the Europeans, if supplies failed for another year.

The grossest immorality and looseness of morals spread, and superstition flourished, incited by the hard times and epidemics. In the Ūmánaq District an unbaptized man and his wife were murdered on the charge of having by witchcraft caused the prevailing epidemic.

That the mission was at all able to survive this crisis and did not receive its death-blow through it, was partly due to the good foundation which had been laid, and partly to the native catechists. It is true that some of these had failed to stand the test, but there were also many who really did their utmost to instruct the young in Christianity, to maintain the divine service and church discipline and to keep the congregations together. When once

more missionaries came to the country, they were frequently surprised to find fully prepared candidates for baptism, well-taught school children, good knowledge among the adults and even carefully kept journals and records of everything that had taken place in the congregations during the time these were without missionaries, nor is there a single case of any one of them having reverted to heathendom. Thus, everything considered, it is probably not too much to say that the old Danish Greenland missionaries stood their test during these dark years. —

The Moravian mission suffered no interruption during the war, and its missionaries all remained at their posts. They were never alone, as there were always several Brethren at the stations, and they also had their private stores, which were always large and even during the war were supplemented by fellow-believers in Holland and England, and so they were entirely independent of the settlements and the ships with provisions from Denmark. They had always, from a material point of view, kept a much firmer hold on their converts than the Danish mission, and as they further had supplies of the most badly missed and most desired article of exchange, tobacco, long after every leaf had disappeared from the Danish stores, it is no wonder that they were able to praise their converts “for unselfish affection so that against very little payment they gave them of their catch.”

As was to be expected, the idea presented itself during the war that it might be advisable to induce the Moravians to undertake the work of the Danish mission at the neighbouring stations. However, this was strongly opposed by Fabricius, and it is to the credit of the Brethren that not only did they not avail themselves of the favorable opportunity to recover their power and win over the Greenlanders of the Danish missions, but they even, to the best of their ability, tried to satisfy the religious longing of the Greenlanders by admitting them as freely as possible to their own divine service.

Upon the whole the long strife between the two missions was now at an end, although trifling quarrels might now and again spring up. But apart from these, the relation between the two missions was, on the whole, good, each keeping within its bounds and respecting the work and working methods of the other.

In 1817 four missionaries were sent out and in 1818 one more, and as there were now sufficient clergymen in the country, Ūmánaq again got its own missionary. The most prominent of these and, as a matter of fact, within the whole period was Peter Kragh at Egedesminde. He had intended to go as a missionary to the East Indies, but through the writings of Egede he came to take an interest in Greenland. He married a woman of mixed race, and worked for ten years in the country. Being possessed of an almost boundless energy and love of work he spent the greater part of the year in travelling about his district; and when he was at home, he took part in the

teaching at the schools, conducted evening prayers at the houses, founded a private training college, where several able catechists received their education, and furthermore found time to undertake literary work in the Greenlandic language, on a scale which up to the present has never been surpassed. That there is even now a living tradition of his personality undoubtedly seems to show that his activity was a great blessing to the Greenlanders, although the fear of his powerful and very practical rebukes was at times a rather too marked contributory cause.

Kragh introduced a new, though indirect factor into the mission work of Greenland, that is the *Danish Missionary Society*. As soon as it was established, in 1821, it immediately offered the College to pay the salary of a missionary in Greenland, but it was not thought "proper for a Royal College to accept such gifts, and it is hardly to be supposed that His Majesty will approve of his officials communicating to a private society information on the missionary work." However, Kragh did not hesitate to do this, and in 1827 the College accepted the offer tendered by the Society to build a church at Julianehaab. Later on, it received a fairly large sum annually to be distributed among the ablest catechists, and gave permission for the missionaries to correspond with the Society.

In spite of everything, even the dark period contains its record of an extension of the missionary activity proper, there being still heathens in the outskirts of the country, south of Julianehaab as well as north of Ũmánaq.

However, it was not towards the south that the Danish mission was extended. The College had entertained the wish that "the mission should be extended towards the south, as far as the end of the country, but its funds did not permit of so doing, and so it had to rest content with the activity of the Moravian Brethren in those parts. In 1822 they obtained permission to establish a new station to carry on its work among the heathen round Statenhuk, the district of the Danish mission, however, remaining intact." Two years later Joh. Conr. Kleinschmidt, the father of the famous linguist, established the mission station Friederichsthal, which already in 1829 numbered a congregation of 350 members and constantly received a fresh influx from southern East Greenland.

Upernivik, on the other hand, was still the sore point of the mission. In 1796 another trading station had been established in that place, where in 1801 there were 54 baptized persons, who were entirely left to themselves. There were no funds for new missionary establishments, and any attempt to make even a catechist go up there still failed.

During the war the trading establishment was abandoned, and some of the baptized again went down to Ũmánaq, but as formerly they moved back again after a few years, while a number of Christians from Ũmánaq moved up there, during a period of starvation in 1817. This became the occasion for the missionary at Ũmánaq to point out the necessity of doing

something serious in order to prevent the falling back of these people into heathendom. In 1823 this place again became a trading station, and as on the occasion of the very first establishment the College was now of opinion that the missionary of Ūmánaq might undertake it as an annexe. This, however, could not be done.

Then Kragh took the lead. He had for a long time kept up a correspondence about the matter with the inspector, as well as with the College and the Missionary Society. He also was of the opinion that he had found the man to undertake the task, *viz.* one of the assistants of the Royal Trading Company, who had been studying divinity, but without passing any examination and who was now willing to go to Upernivik in the double capacity of trader and missionary. The Mission College would have no costs to defray on his account, as the Danish Missionary Society offered to pay the salary of the missionary. However, the College would neither accept this offer, nor agree to ordain a man "who had not studied." Kragh then induced one of his ablest catechists to go up there as a teacher and in 1825 himself went up with him in order to institute him.

Thus the resumption of the Upernivik mission was practically ensured. It is true that the catechist did not remain there long, as he thought it impossible to make any headway. Most of the Christians in those parts believed in *angákoqs* and were thus not very different from the heathen, and the heathen were hardened and unwilling to receive the Gospel. When in 1827 Kragh paid a second visit to the place, he took the catechist home with him. But everywhere in those parts, where there were Christians, they now had catechists or "instructresses," and with shorter intervals the missionaries came up there on voyages of inspection. And finally, in 1833, Upernivik got its own missionary, who on his arrival found a congregation of 120 members, while at his departure, eight years later, "there were only a couple of dozen left, who wanted to live and die as heathen." However, they must have changed their minds, for they were all baptized, the last of them by the eldest son of Kragh, who lived there as a missionary from 1850 to 1858.

But it cannot be denied that the mission here did not undergo the same rich development, nor was it so firmly established as in the other places, and Upernivik, even in our own times, bears the stamp of being the most recently Christianized of the Greenland congregations. The missionaries here have always had to combat superstition and remnants of heathendom, and the idea that Christianity was a kind of insurance against the wicked forces of existence and things belonging to divine worship, like fetishes and amulets, has been kept up longer here than anywhere else. Still, things have improved during later years, and one seems to be justified in hoping that the strong religious revival, which at the present time is passing like a wave over the whole of Greenland, may also reach *these* parts, and infuse new strength into the old movement.

V. FROM MISSION TO CHURCH

(1845 to the present day).

The last—and longest—period of the history of the mission in Greenland is a slow, in fact extremely slow, development towards a national Greenland Church. But as the development, until the very beginning of this century, in the main followed the old tracks, keeping within the framework already given and taking place through the institutions which had been created at a much earlier time, thus yielding a picture of uniformity, there is no reason to give a continuous and detailed account of the whole of this period. It will be sufficient to mention a few outstanding episodes and occurrences as well as the persons, who have played a more or less leading part in the development.

The period was inaugurated by a re-arrangement of the mission work. This re-arrangement, which was greatly needed and which had been very frequently requested, came into force in 1845, and according to it the number of mission areas became four in each inspectorate, *viz.* in South Greenland Julianehaab, Frederikshaab, Godthaab and Holsteinsborg—Sukkertoppen, and in North Greenland Egedesminde—Godhavn, Jacobshavn—Christianshaab, Ũmánaq—Ritenbenk and Upernivik. By this arrangement the reduction of 1792 was practically annulled, and the position was further improved in 1854 when Ritenbenk, which it was difficult to superintend and traverse in a satisfactory manner from Ũmánaq, was again subjected to the Jacobshavn mission area. When at the same time more suitable amounts were fixed for defraying the travelling expenses devolving upon each mission area, the beneficial results of the new arrangement were soon to be traced, since travelling in the district became more frequent, and the superintendence of catechists, teachers and the many scattered small congregations more effective.

Further, a new general instruction was issued, *inter alia* making for greater homogeneity in the work, the missionaries being enjoined, through constant correspondence, to work towards collaboration and mutual support. However, as was to be expected, when considering the insufficient means of communication in Greenland, the results obtained through this means were not very great, as the College did not go the whole length by the establishment of conventions or conferences, nor was a serious attempt made at re-introducing the archdeaconeries which sooner than anything else would have led to the object desired.

The most important step towards the realization of a Greenland Church which was taken after the new arrangement was, however, the establishment of *seminaries* for the training of native catechists. This idea was not a novel one, but had been set forth on various occasions and from various quarters,

ever since the days of Hans Egede. That at last it was now realized, was largely due to the Danish Missionary Society which not only made itself its spokesman but also volunteered to defray part of the expenses by a large yearly contribution, extending over a period of ten years. The Society furthermore advocated the idea that the seminaries should train *native clergymen*. To this the Mission College would not agree, and it also refused the contribution of the Missionary Society, as might for that matter have been expected beforehand, when considering its former attitude towards "the private society." But in 1846 two seminaries for catechists were established, one for South Greenland at Godthaab, and one for North Greenland at Jacobshavn. The number of pupils was fixed at eight for each seminary, and they were divided into two classes extending over three years, the period of instruction thus becoming six years in all, and every third year four pupils were sent up for examination at each of the schools. Besides the elementary subjects the pupils were to be instructed in Danish, the Bible, and biblical history, organ playing and singing, while in the upper classes also preaching and school-teaching were practised.

This promising programme, which however as far as the number of pupils was concerned, was insufficient for the supply of catechists of the country, was never entirely carried out. At the very beginning several difficulties arose. It proved impossible to get pupils from the more remote places, as the parents were unwilling to send their children so far away from them. This particularly applied to South Greenland where communication between the settlements was only possible during the summer months. Therefore, it proved necessary, for a period of several years, to let one of the missionaries move about from district to district as an agitator for the Godthaab seminary, before the attempt to set it going was fairly successful. It also turned out that the regular, sedentary life which was necessary for carrying out the programme was detrimental to the health of the pupils, and during the first few years there was a good deal of illness among them, which prevented them from deriving the full benefit of the teaching. Further, a superintending agency was lacking, for which reason the seminary teaching naturally became rather casual and desultory, the chief weight being attached now to the theological and now to the pedagogical side of the instruction, while again the elementary subjects were now neglected and now one-sidedly emphasised. At the Godthaab seminary it was thought from the beginning that "only little time and energy could be given to the instruction in Danish, owing to more immediate needs," which state of affairs for that matter lasted throughout the century. At the Jacobshavn seminary, on the other hand, it was considered very important that the instruction during the last year at times should be given in Danish, which, in its turn, came to be detrimental to the other subjects. The original cause of this difference in the curriculum was an extremely different conception regarding the question of

native clergymen, as to which more later. The time required at the two seminaries was not the same, neither as regards the actual period of instruction, nor as regards the division into classes.

As far as the Jacobshavn seminary was concerned, it was a long time before it could be said to be properly started, partly because there were very few pupils, and partly because there happened to be a constant change of teachers. But in the sixties of last century, under the missionary Nissen and a number of able collaborators—among others Vitus Steenholdt of mixed Greenland and Danish parentage, who was the pupil of P. Kragh, and who, without ever having been in Denmark, spoke and wrote Danish fluently and upon the whole had acquired a good deal of knowledge—it had a short flourishing period and in 1872 sent out no less than ten catechists, who had all had a very long period of instruction, 9 to 11 years, and a thorough, though probably somewhat desultory and unsystematic training. As catechists and head-catechists several of these did long and faithful service and were, with justice, greatly respected for their able and conscientious work. After Nissen had gone back to Denmark, his successor further established a two years' course of instruction for smaller posts, but this greatly needed institution came to a sudden end, as the Jacobshavn seminary was given up in 1875, and the pupils who had not yet finished their education were transferred to the Godthaab seminary. The result of this was rather serious. Owing to the long distance it always proved difficult to get a sufficient number of pupils from North Greenland, for which reason the supply of catechists for this province became much less than that of South Greenland, although the head of the seminary did all in his power to make the South Greenlanders undertake the work in the north.

The Godthaab seminary developed more quickly and regularly than that of Jacobshavn, particularly because its staff of teachers was far more stable. For a period of more than forty years there were only two heads of the seminary, *viz.* H. Jørgensen (1857 to 1869) and N. E. Balle (1870 to 1900). At the same time the philologist Samuel Kleinschmidt and Rasmus Berthelsen, the descendant of Berthel Laersen, acted as teachers at the seminary for twenty-seven and fifty-four years respectively. The number of pupils who were instructed by these men was great, and when, as catechists, they were in their turn transferred to different parts of the country, they came to exercise a very powerful and homogeneous influence on the attitude towards Christianity taken by the various congregations. In this respect Balle was of the greatest importance, since by his strong religious mind, his zeal and spiritual authority he came to exercise a powerful influence, far beyond the district which was his proper sphere of activity. The value of his work on behalf of the Greenland community can hardly be overrated; it is rather to be compared to that of Sverdrup, only that it was more comprehensive in so far as it was accomplished at a period when the mission, in the proper

sense of the word, was at an end, and the development tended towards a national Church. Further, his influence, through the many catechists who had been trained by him, came to benefit the whole of the country, from Cape Farewell to Upernivik—indeed, even as far as the east coast and Cape York—and his activity is traced and his name known and mentioned with reverence and affection all along the coast.

Another step which came to be of importance towards the realization of a Greenland Church, was the abolishment, in 1860, of the antiquated and stagnated Mission College, and the "Greenland Mission", as it was still erroneously called throughout the century, was made subject to the Danish Ministry for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs.

It was soon felt that the guidance of affairs had passed into other hands. The dilapidated buildings, churches and schools were repaired, extended or rebuilt; new buildings were erected and even chapels at the larger outposts, which had hitherto been practically unknown. More catechists and teachers were appointed; their salaries were raised also by assistance towards the building of houses, while better means for instruction were supplied both at the seminaries and at the schools.

As regards other reforms progress, however, was much slower, as for instance regarding the appointment of archdeacons. As formerly mentioned, this idea constantly presented itself, now with the Mission College, in consequence of proposals made by its adviser, now as a demand on the part of the missionaries. The position as archdeacon for the *whole* of the country was in 1826 offered to Kragh, but nothing came of it, as the College refused to acknowledge his otherwise very modest claims for means of conveyance. When the Ministry took over the guidance of affairs, the question of the appointment of archdeacons became a very important one, forming part of the endeavour to create unity and homogeneity in the work. Proposals were set forth for one or two archdeacons, and in 1872 a commission appointed for the purpose proposed that the country, in view of the greater number of native clergymen to be appointed in the future, should be divided into *three* archdeaconries, after which the matter was again allowed to rest for more than thirty years.

New impetus was also given to the question of *native clergymen*, a question which the Mission College during the latter years of its existence had at last taken up for consideration. But although the Ministry, with this object in mind, energetically went in for an extended instruction in Danish at the seminaries, the plan was not carried out for several years to come, as opinions in Greenland were so greatly divided. In particular the heads of the Godthaab seminary for a long time regarded the Greenland community as being too immature to produce its own clergy, and consequently attached very little weight to the preparation for this office. On the other hand, the North Greenland missionaries and the heads of the Jacobshavn seminary

were generally in favour of the speedy carrying out of the project, and with this end in view Nissen established a "higher class" among the pupils, of whom he pointed out two as being particularly fit to be sent to Denmark for further training. Obstacles however arose in their case, but finally, in 1874, the catechist Tobias Morch was ordained after two years' study in Denmark, and for nearly thirty-four years he worked, without interruption, as an independent clergyman at Upernivik. During the following years also three of Balle's pupils were sent home, who after having finished their training and being ordained were, however, only entrusted with the position of "ordained head catechists", subordinated to Danish missionaries and with their field of activity in smaller districts. Beyond this the matter did not progress during the 19th century.

Another matter of importance which was taken in hand by the Ministry in connection with a national church was relating to the *language*. Translations of the Bible and hymn-book, as well as all other printed literature left much to be desired from a philological point of view, and also the grammar and dictionary were extremely antiquated and insufficient. And in the days of the Mission College it was not even possible for those concerned to agree about the orthography, and the printing of Greenlandic books had been stopped for the time being. The Moravian Brethren in this respect were far ahead of the Danish mission.

But about the end of the fifties of last century a change of attitude set in, and as the Ministry took up the matter and was greatly interested therein, it made comparatively rapid progress. It was particularly Samuel Kleinschmidt who here came to exercise a reforming or rather perfectly revolutionizing effect. As early as 1851, while still a teacher at Neu Herrnhut, he had published a grammar (in German) which threw an entirely new light on the Greenlandic language, systematized it according to a method which is unsurpassed even to this day, and created an orthography which almost as a stroke of genius defines the pronunciation with a very few and simple rules.

His system had at first some difficulty in gaining recognition, which possibly has some bearing upon the fact that he was a Moravian. But after it had been taken up, with great energy, by the head of the Godthaab seminary, Jørgensen, who like Kleinschmidt was a linguistic genius, it quickly became victorious. The two together compiled a dictionary (1871) and commenced a new translation of the Bible, which was continued with the assistance of several able collaborators and was completed before the end of the century. The purely philological work was continued by Chr. Rasmussen, who composed a grammar and together with J. Kjer compiled a Danish-Greenlandic dictionary. Also the ritual and the hymn-book was revised, and in it were included several hymns written by natives, among others the beautiful nativity hymn by R. Berthelsen, who is said to have

dreamt the words and tune; this hymn is dearly loved by the Greenlanders and is heard everywhere on Christmas Eve when the young people go about from house to house, ushering in Christmas.

The Moravians faithfully continued their mission along the old lines, although circumstances gradually forced them to make certain changes or reforms. Thus, to a far greater degree than formerly, they permitted people to move out, though still only to short distances from the chief missions. And partly with a view to those who had moved out, partly in order not to be too far behind the Danish mission, and finally in consequence of constant admonitions on the part of the Mission College, they began to use native teachers to a much greater extent than before and established a "Gehülfschule" at Neu Herrnhut, where Kleinschmidt acted as teacher. In 1856 the College declared that there was now not much to be said against the Moravian establishments, as they had, during recent years, done very considerable work on behalf of education, natives having been instructed and then appointed as catechists at a number of outposts, "the result of which is that the Greenlanders do not assemble round a few places in such great numbers as formerly."

These measures, however, were too late to remedy the economic decay and consequent decrease of the population which had been the result of the Moravian missionary practice. It was now absolutely impossible to stop it, and this is best illustrated by some figures taken from the oldest mission station in the Godthaab District. From 1850 to 1899 the congregation decreased from 792 to 421 individuals, and there was a constant excess of deaths over births of 13 pro mille annually. The number of widows was still strikingly large, there being in 1880 even more widows than married women. And the description which is given, about 1860, of conditions at Lichtenfels is fortunately without a parallel in the history of Greenland. In the course of five years the congregation had decreased from 394 to 300, whereas the number of widows had increased from 35 to 42, as against 40 married women. Umiaks and tents disappeared entirely, and summer journeys and collections of supplies practically ceased. The houses were miserable, and the sealing was not even sufficient to provide the Greenlanders with the most necessary clothes.

As the Brethren themselves were seriously concerned about this development, they asked for, and in 1861 obtained permission to establish a new station, which was laid at Ūmanaq in the Godthaab Fiord. But although, by this means, the pressure on the old Moravian stations in the district was somewhat lessened, it could not change conditions generally, and the wish became more and more common with the authorities that the Brethren

should withdraw. And as the chief administration of the Moravian Brethren gradually came to realize that they ought to do so, seeing that the missionary work proper was at an end, and the Danish mission was able to manage the work without their assistance, a resolution was passed by the Mission Conference in 1899 to the effect that their stations in Greenland should be left to the Danes. The formal taking over took place in 1900, a solemn and dignified proceeding, in the course of which full and deserved recognition was expressed towards the Brethren for their good intentions and loyal work. The actual change was made quickly and easily, and nowhere did it cause the slightest difficulty. But that the withdrawal of the Moravian Brethren was a timely one, is proved beyond a doubt by the increase in the population, by their greater capacity for work, as well as by their added wealth and higher education.

In this place mention should be made of a couple of visionary movements of which the former and more important sprang up within a Moravian congregation and rather resembled the Habakukianism in the Sukkertoppen District. In the winter 1853—54 a young man at Friedrichsthal assumed the authority of a prophet, called himself Gabriel and started a movement towards forming a new community, which should be entirely independent of the Europeans. He believed that he had had visions and had conversed with the Saviour, from whom he had received his orders. He quickly had a great number of followers, who believed blindly in him and were ready to obey his every command. The regular divine service and church discipline ceased entirely. The prophet himself fulfilled all ecclesiastical duties and sent out apostles to the neighbouring places for the purpose of enlisting votaries. Soon other individuals also spoke of having had revelations from heaven; the religious frenzy spread, and some even wounded their hands and let others suck the wounds for the purpose of trying the "sweetness of the Saviour's blood." The prophet "imparted the spirit" to his believers, by breathing into their mouths, and there was a project afoot to the effect that the community, when the season permitted, should depart to the east coast to form a colony and convert the heathen in those parts.

The missionaries could do nothing in the face of the general excitement, and perhaps for the very reason that they held their peace, the movement began to die down, and they were able to avail themselves of the opportunity to gain ground once more. The prophet was soon deserted by most of his partisans and then, with a faithful few, fled to a remote dwelling place, where they finally dispersed on the failure of the prophecy that the world was coming to an end. In the following year the movement seems to have died down entirely, and even Gabriel gave in and allowed himself to be duly married by the missionaries.

Another visionary movement occurred in 1875, in the northern district of Upernivik, where a young girl pretended that she was the "Holy Virgin" and succeeded in making a number of people believe that a still-born child of which she had been delivered in the mountains had called itself Jesus and shown her various visions, the chief object of which was that she herself should be supported by the public. In a couple of letters, which she had dictated to the catechist, she communicated this to the missionary in prophetic terms, and demanded a sum of money under threats such as that the world would come to an end if she were not believed. However, this movement never gained much strength, as the girl admitted having told a falsehood in order to avoid censure because of her pregnancy.

Before the century came to an end, a new missionary movement was started among the heathen, this time on the east coast, originally among scattered habitations as far as north of Angmagssalik. But after the establishment of a trading station, in 1797, at Nanortalik near Cape Farewell and belonging to the Julianehaab settlement, the population of the southern part of the east coast had begun to emigrate thither. This emigration continued, and the new-comers were mainly received into the Moravian congregation at Friedrichsthal. On several occasions plans were put forward to start a mission on the east coast itself. The above-mentioned project of the "Prophet Gabriel" is naturally without any importance in this context, but for several years to come the matter was frequently broached. Thus the Moravian missionary Brodbeck, who, in 1881, had undertaken a missionary journey to the Lindenow Fiord, proposed to establish a station in this place, but without any result, and the immigration to the west coast continued, until the whole of the southern part of the east coast, as far as Angmagssalik, was depopulated.

Finally, through the famous "Women's boat-Expedition" of Gustav Holm (1884—85) the first missionary made his appearance in those parts. It was the Greenland catechist, Johs. Hansen ("Hansêraq") who volunteered to accompany the expedition as coxswain, with the express purpose of preaching the Gospel among his heathen countrymen. Naturally, he could not do much in the course of the one winter the expedition spent there, but his activity resulted in a request on the part of the heathens that "teachers" might be sent to Angmagssalik "that they might be instructed about God," and thus the mission was inaugurated. In 1894 the Rev. Rüttel (d. 1915) came there with his wife, and took up his post in this exposed and extremely lonely locality, which, owing to ice difficulties, had communication with the outer world only once a year, and sometimes even this might fail. He had many difficulties to surmount, both as regards the language, which differed

greatly from the West Greenland dialect which he had learned during a two years' stay in Julianehaab, and as regards the spiritual attitude of the heathen. But his ardent belief, discretion, caution and affectionate understanding, gradually paved the way for the Gospel, and when after strenuous work and many disappointments he was at last able to baptize the first heathen in 1899, the mission made still greater progress.

When in 1904, on account of broken health, Rüttel was obliged to leave Angmagssalik, he had baptized 62 persons in all and had founded a congregation, which was as "salt and light" among the heathen. In a retrospect on his activities he says that "the general state was considerably improved by the arrival of us Danes at Angmagssalik. By an intimate collaboration between manager and missionary a check was put upon the savage murdering, which had ravaged the country, and gradually a certain security was obtained, which was felt as a relief even by the heathen." Therefore, it is with justice that Rüttel has been called "Apostle of East Greenland."

His work was continued with loyalty and ability by Chr. Rosing, a native of West Greenland, who in 1924 was succeeded by his son, and in 1925 Sejr Abelsen went to Scoresby Sound as clergyman for the newly founded colony.

In the meantime, it had long since been evident to all that the "Greenland Mission" in its old shape was antiquated and no longer able to satisfy the increasing demand. The old frame-work left no space for real development of conditions in Church and congregation, and an entirely novel arrangement was needed.

The greatly desired change was brought about by the Act on Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs in Greenland, which was passed on April 1st, 1905. Hence Greenland was to be divided into eleven parishes, each with its own minister. The parishes were: *Frederiksdal, Lichtenau, Julianehaab, Frederikshaab, Godthaab, Holsteinsborg, Sukkertoppen, Egedesminde-Godhavn, Jacobs-havn—Christianshaab—Ritenbenk, Ũmánaq, Upernivik, Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound*. Further, according to the requirements of each parish, districts were to be formed, which, under the supervision of the head clergyman, were to be managed by district ministers. Also, attempts were to be made to appoint as many native clergymen as possible, and this attempt has succeeded so far that now, in 1927, there are only four Danish clergymen left in West Greenland as against eleven native ones.

At the same time the arrangement regarding the training of teachers was revised. The Jacobshavn seminary which had been re-established in 1901 as an emergency measure was abandoned once more, and a new seminary was built at Godthaab with accomodation for forty pupils, divided into two classes each extending over three years.

From each class two specially qualified pupils can be sent to Denmark for further instruction, extending over two or three years, and with ordination as its final object. Up to the present thirteen pupils in all have availed themselves of this opportunity, and of these nine have eventually been ordained.

Two or three training schools were established for the preparation of catechists for smaller places, with up to five pupils and two years' instruction. These schools have no permanent buildings, but according to the demand they can be moved, kept up or temporarily abandoned.

According to the Act of April 1st, 1905, the country was to be divided into one or two archdeaconries under the Copenhagen Bishopric. The archdeacon makes visitations, carries out ordinations and is the chairman of the conventions, which are kept each or every second year, and where matters of importance to church and schools are made subject to discussion or proposal. Until 1918 there was only one archdeacon whose dwelling, up to 1912, was at Godthaab and subsequently Egedesminde, but in the year mentioned above the arrangement with two archdeaconries was introduced.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that by an Act of 1912 the ecclesiastical and educational matters of Greenland were subjected to the common administration of Greenland, and in 1925 it was resolved that the whole of the educational system of that country should be reorganized with the appointment of a *school inspector*, and the introduction of obligatory teaching in Danish, for which purpose a few young pupils of the seminary have received and are still receiving more advanced pedagogical training in Denmark.

After the Act of 1905 progress has been made at a speed which up to the present was entirely unknown. Many new churches and modern schools have been built, and a great number of catechists, trained according to modern principles, have been appointed in all parts of the country, a native of Angmagssalik even officiating in that place. A great number of new books have been published, mostly printed at the printing office of the seminary, but as to this the reader is referred to the article on the Intellectual Culture of the Greenlanders (vol. II.).

On the initiative of Schultz-Lorentzen the "Association for Greenland Church Affairs" was founded in 1906, which association works for the deepening of church life within the Greenland community, and for partial collaboration with the latter with a view to the Greenland mission to the heathen.

In 1909 the "Association for Greenland Church Affairs" and the Danish Missionary Society took up missionary work among the Cape York Eskimos, under the leadership of the native missionary Gustav Olsen, an extremely intelligent and warm-hearted man who, by loving understanding and a never failing mental balance, quickly came into contact with the population, and

by deliberate work, without untimely hurry, founded a congregation of Christian Arctic Eskimos, the most northerly in the world.

But as the most important link in the development must be mentioned the great revival, which since 1907 has passed over Greenland. After fermenting for several years in various places, the movement itself began in real earnest at Godthaab, through the young engraver and painter, Stephen Møller (1882—1909) who had received his education in Denmark, and who after having himself been converted, carried out an extremely beneficial work towards rousing the religious interest of the members of his district. From there the movement spread in the course of the following years over the whole of the country, at the beginning meeting some resistance, which however gradually died down, and communities were formed with regular Bible discussions and meetings which, particularly for a time, were very largely attended. In several places, as for instance at Godthaab and Jacobs-havn, summer meetings were held till long after the beginning of the Great War, extending over several days and gathering the congregations of the neighbourhood up to a distance of some eighty miles.

The revival has created a hitherto unknown church life. The church attendance which had always been large, increased greatly, in some places amounting to 80—90 per cent of the adult population of the place. The number of communicants increased to such an extent, that in the Jacobs-havn parish, for instance, it amounted in 1913 to 2917. At a summer meeting in the same place, in 1914, 489 people presented themselves for Holy Communion. The old custom of holding communions at stated intervals was entirely broken at Jacobshavn, so that people are going to the Lord's Table nearly every Sunday all the year round, and this in the case of a people so conservative in habits as the Greenlanders, must be considered one of the strongest testimonials to the strength of the revival. Tasks like private visiting of the sick, prayer meetings for the old, and children's services were taken up. In some places large contributions were made towards the building of congregational houses or the procuring of church inventory. The interest for missionary work among heathen country-men was roused, and this work was taken up. The catechists Sejv Abelsen and Julius Olsen were sent out to Angmagssalik, and by their assistance the mission in those parts has now advanced so far that the last heathen were baptized on July 3rd, 1921, on the Bicentenary of Hans Egede's landing in Greenland. The sealer Enok Christiansen from Jacobshavn went to Cape York as a lay missionary, and in this capacity he has done very considerable pioneer work.

The religious revival called forth an abundance of hymns, and from the point of view of the language gave rise to many new creations, in that appropriate expressions were made for a number of spiritual ideas and phenomena.

Finally, the awakening soon became, not only religious, but also national, in fact so much so that there may be a danger of the latter element throwing the spiritual one into the shade. The greatest dangers for the lasting value of the movement are, however, that when it was at its height so many people were drawn into it, without being more than superficially influenced, and also that the common Greenlandic tendency is to let the spiritual assume a set form. These factors together have in several places made themselves felt, partly in a few and very sad defections, and partly in a more general reaction, which however has mainly proved to be a beneficial and purifying process. During more recent years new revivals have taken place, on a smaller scale, for instance in the Godthaab District.

In any case, the movement has played a very great part towards the realization of a national Greenland Church, and as such it makes a beautiful and dignified finish to the plan for the "conversion and enlightenment of the poor Greenlanders" which Hans Egede conceived in his isolated Norwegian rectory, and for the realization of which he, the "Apostle of Greenland", staked his life.

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THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF GREENLAND

BY

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From the very first the Greenland mission directed its efforts towards instructing the natives. This was partly due to its Lutheran character—the Greenland mission was one of the very first Lutheran missions—and partly to the general intellectual standards of the period. It was the so-called orthodoxism which predominated, with its strong demand for intelligent appropriation of the Christian tenets. And apart from that the Dano-Norwegian missionaries were, on an average, men of great religious fervour, combined with level-headedness and a strong sense of reality. Hans Egede and his successors, from the very first, paid great attention to teaching, and took care that the young Greenlanders should be instructed in reading, writing and religion.

During the first fifty years or more it was done in such a manner that the baptized Greenlanders assembled at the place where the missionary lived, and there received the necessary instruction from him and his assistants, the so-called catechists. But as the number of those baptized increased, this proceeding became impossible. The occupations of the Greenlanders, sealing, fishing etc. necessitated large hunting areas and a scattered population. The closely populated settlements led to poverty and dependence upon the Europeans, and so efforts were made to spread the population. The baptized were allowed to remain at their own dwelling places. In all places where there were converts, a catechist was appointed to instruct adults and children, and the missionary came there, once in a while, on journeys of inspection to supervise the teaching. In the course of time all Greenlanders were baptized, and teachers were appointed at all dwelling-places. The regions farthest south in the neighbourhood of Cape Farewell, and farthest north, the present Upernivik settlement with its outposts, were the last districts to be brought under Christian influence. It may be said that this development was completed about the middle of last century (1840—1850) and that throughout West Greenland there was from that period organized education for the whole of the population.

Already at an early period natives were used as *catechists*, viz. assistants of missionaries and teachers, and during the first years there were also a few Danes. These, it is true, had received no special training, but they nevertheless came to exercise a considerable influence in the country, as they lived together with the Greenlanders, married Greenland women and remained in Greenland for the remainder, or at any rate for the greater part of their lives, though generally in the last instance as traders, this occupation being far more profitable. The native catechists were all along the most numerous, and at last became the only ones. At the very smallest dwelling places, which frequently only comprised one family, with a few children of school age, a resident of the place, either a man or a woman who was thought most qualified for and willing to undertake it, was entrusted with the teaching of the children, receiving in return the necessary school books etc. as well as a small remuneration to encourage him or her in the work. Such teachers have frequently done excellent work and achieved surprisingly good results, although it was often only the most strictly necessary knowledge which they were able to impart. A trained catechist at a neighbouring dwelling place was appointed to supervise the teaching, and in addition the missionary came there regularly. But the ordinary catechists had always received some sort of instruction from a clergyman for a couple of years, and many of these catechists did very good work within the narrow confines of the curriculum to be followed; indeed, there were catechists who came to exercise a great influence in wider circles, and were held in high esteem by the Danish authorities; thus in 1815 a halfbreed was ordained as a clergyman. The whole of the education of Greenland and the intellectual growth of the population during the new European era, was first and foremost due to these native catechists. But it should, naturally, not be forgotten that the Greenlanders themselves were not merely willing but eager, even hungry to learn, and that they are on an average possessed of a curious facility for imitating, remembering, and understanding.

The subjects which were taught during these early years were limited to *reading*, *writing* and *religion*, but then the instruction received in the European primary schools was not much better. Here as there the system adopted was cramming, and everything had to be learnt by heart. It took some time before arithmetic was included among the subjects taught in the Greenland schools. This was only what might be expected. For one thing the Greenlanders had a method of counting—it can hardly be called a numerical system—which was not very well adapted to form the foundation of a methodical system in arithmetic. The native mode of counting has been mentioned elsewhere (vol. II, p. 283). It was extremely difficult to teach children an arithmetical system, based upon a European method of counting, when they thought of figures in quite a different manner. Besides, with the native manner of living there was no necessity for great numerical quantities.

During the early years of the colonization trading was carried on as pure barter, and not until the 19th century do we see the first attempts at a monetary system in the proper sense of the word; neither have the Greenlanders ever had any large amount of cash at their disposal. A long time had to elapse—the development still being far from ended—before it was possible to teach the Greenlanders arithmetic to any extent corresponding with the instruction in a civilized country. Another subject which should be mentioned is “Danish.” It might have been expected that the Danish colonizers would have enforced their language upon the natives, or at any rate have brought their influence to bear so as to make them learn Danish. As a matter of course there were several native helpers, who through their constant intercourse with the Danes learned to speak Danish or some sort of “pidgin,” but nothing much came of it. Also, even though a missionary now and then tried to teach his Greenland pupils Danish, it left no impress on the development generally. The instruction received in the schools was throughout native instruction with native text-books. When in 1804 it was demanded on the part of the administration that Danish should be thoroughly taught, the authorities of the Greenland church and school opposed it. When we ask for the reason of this attitude, we must realize beforehand that it cannot have been a conscious wish to maintain the Greenland nationality, the peculiar characteristics of which those in power did not otherwise hesitate to set aside, or a recognition of the national right of the Greenlanders. Ideas of this kind were not the prevailing ones in those days of absolutism and orthodoxy. The tolerant attitude was rather due to the easy manner in which, as a matter of course, the first leaders got into personal touch with the Greenlanders and associated with them, so that it never occurred to them to put compulsion upon them in this respect. Also, it seems to be beyond a doubt that behind it all there was a certain contempt for the Greenlanders. They had no use for a knowledge of Danish; they got on very well without it, and no one at that time thought of actually developing the native population. This is a sufficient explanation of the attitude of the first colonizers towards this problem. It is an entirely different matter that the same attitude was taken up at a much later period and under new conditions, but with a new justification, and the monopoly of the vernacular in the schools of Greenland was maintained with the express wish that the development of the Greenlanders should take place on a purely national foundation.

During the first period of the Greenland school system, the conditions under which it worked were very primitive. The children assembled in the house of the catechist, which was generally built in the ordinary native fashion with walls of stone and turf; it contained one room with a platform and was illuminated by the low, smoking blubber lamps. When the teacher was a sealer, and this in many cases was his real occupation, school hours were dictated by his convenience and were frequently only of short duration.

The first goal which in this respect was set before the Danish mission and colonization, *viz.* to make the school conquer the whole of the population of Greenland, was—as has already been mentioned—attained in spite of many difficulties about the middle of last century (1840—1850). It was now possible to advance a step further towards a radical improvement of the teaching in the schools, and in 1845 two teachers' colleges or *seminaries* for the training of catechists were established in South and North Greenland, respectively.

The idea underlying the establishment of these seminaries was naturally to substitute a uniform systematic training for the instruction which the catechists had hitherto received from the clergymen, and which as a matter of course had varied greatly in extent and value. The course of instruction was fixed at six years, and during this long period it was possible to give the pupils thorough and comprehensive instruction, even though they had before then only passed through the elementary school with its defective teaching. At the seminaries the instruction was extended to comprise other subjects, *viz.* geography, history and natural history, and finally it was resolved that they were to receive systematic instruction in Danish. The number of pupils at each seminary was, under normal circumstances, to amount to eight.

However excellent the intention, the putting into practice of those resolutions must meet with many and considerable difficulties. It was not easy to induce young Greenlanders, who had been brought up with the idea of becoming sealers, to spend six years in school. Before this could be done, with any hope of success, new ideals had to develop among the population, and this took time. Nor was it easy to find qualified teachers for these seminaries among the small number of Danish clergymen in Greenland. And finally, the new subjects were entirely fresh and untilled soil; the material had to be arranged and new text-books written. All the more admirable is it that the attempt at establishing a seminary in Greenland proved successful. It is true that the North Greenland seminary at Jacobshavn did not live very long, and in 1875 it was given up entirely, but the seminary for South Greenland which had been established at Godthaab continued. It seems as if the possibility of getting pupils among the native population was greater in South Greenland, and in addition several of its principals were able and energetic men, notably the clergyman N. E. Balle, who was at the head of it from 1870 to 1900. Of very great importance to the seminary was the appointment as teacher of Samuel Kleinschmidt. He was born in Greenland in 1814, the son of a German missionary at the Moravian Mission, and after studying in Europe for some time he returned to the country of his birth to act as a missionary. But his almost exclusive interest in scientific work, especially centering round the Greenlandic language, as well as personal affairs made him apply for an appointment as teacher at the Godthaab

seminary, and there—modest, diligent, and entirely wrapped up in Greenland—he remained until his death in 1886. We have already mentioned his linguistic studies and his translation of the Bible (vol. II pp. 226, 236), and he further wrote several text-books to be used at the seminary. According to regulations, the pupils were also taught Danish, but the instruction in this subject was rather haphazard, and the results attained did not amount to much. On the other hand, attempts were made at sending some native catechists to Denmark in order to be trained there. One of these, Rasmus Berthelsen, who was appointed as teacher at the Godthaab seminary, spoke excellent Danish, was an able organist—at the seminary the catechists were taught to play the organ—and came to be of considerable importance to the seminary and the people of Greenland generally.

These seminaries—after 1875 the Godthaab seminary alone—in the course of time came to contribute greatly towards elevating and developing the Greenland schools. It was naturally a slow process. When the catechists who had been trained at the seminaries came out to the schools as teachers, with a wider knowledge, a deeper understanding and a livelier interest in their work, they got hold of the population and gained considerable influence and esteem. Their pupils received better instruction, and so they were, in their turn, able to give better instruction, whenever the opportunity offered, in their homes and at their dwelling places. This development coincided with the not inconsiderable modifications which took place in social conditions by the introduction of a sort of municipal government. And not only were the schools supplied with serviceable text-books, the contents of which to a certain extent represented the standard of education of those days, but by the setting up of a printing press, and the publication of a periodical and other reading matter—all in the vernacular—a possibility was created for the common people to get reading matter in their own language. With regard to this the reader is referred to what has been told elsewhere (vol. II p. 236). The educational system of Greenland was built up entirely on a national foundation, was felt to belong entirely to the Greenlanders and was a support to them in the national self-assertion which comes so natural to them and is so characteristic of them. It is probable that it might have been advanced still farther with a greater contribution of men, efforts, and money, on the part of the Danish administration, but then the slow experimental procedure came to be of consequence, in so far as education in this manner had time to strike firm roots and to establish its position as something which was a matter of course in the lives of the Greenlanders.

The development of the Greenland school which took place in the period described was principally of an internal character. At the larger settlements, the population of which increased largely in number, special schools or school rooms were arranged, generally with very scanty school equipment. But in the main everything remained as it was. There were and are in the

national life of the Greenlanders a number of factors which make all regular school work difficult. Thus, the quite small dwelling places with the proportionally few inhabitants make it impossible to appoint a special teacher, and so some man or woman is, for an infinitesimal remuneration, entrusted with the teaching of the young. Further, the occupations followed by the Greenlanders, wherever these occupations are still carried on in the primitive manner, force them to go in spring to the sealing grounds at the islands off the coasts, and in summer and autumn to the salmon rivers and reindeer districts. Now and then the teacher, when he is one of their own, may join these expeditions and teach the children in the tents, but frequently the children lose valuable school hours by these removals. It is the duty of the clergymen, as inspectors, to see that the result attained is nevertheless acceptable.

At the beginning of the 20th century a new advance was made on behalf of the schools. In accordance with the Act of 1905 a larger sum was placed at the disposal of the schools, and a radical reorganization was undertaken. Like the former arrangement of 1845 it chiefly aimed at the improvement of the seminary, which must naturally be the starting point for an improved teaching in the schools. A new seminary was built, which was of considerable proportions as compared with other Greenland buildings, having good class rooms and modern appointments, also a gymnasium etc. A Danish teacher was appointed, who was to instruct forty pupils divided into two classes, each course extending over a period of three years, and the pupils were given free board and lodging as well as instruction. The curriculum, besides the subjects mentioned above, comprised physics, hygiene, pedagogics, manual work (Sloyd) and gymnastics, and the teaching in all subjects was considerably extended, while also educational apparatus and collections were provided. Systematic instruction in the vernacular, according to grammatical principles, was introduced, and finally Danish became one of the chief subjects. After the introduction of the new organization the seminary, within the scope circumscribed for its activity, might very well bear comparison with modern high schools in countries with an old civilization.

The object was, as hitherto, to train catechists, and we are here first and foremost thinking of their training as teachers in the elementary schools. But for the ablest of them a new prospect had opened up, a way leading to advancement. A few were sent to Denmark from each class, and there, through a course of studies extending over several years, they qualified to be appointed as clergymen in Greenland, and all those sent received a pedagogical training in Denmark, a few even being specially trained as teachers.

This new arrangement further aimed at the establishment of a secondary school, a kind of continuation of the elementary schools for those who wanted to acquire a more liberal education, or who wanted to qualify themselves



The Godthaab seminary.

Schultz-Lorentzen.



A class in the seminary.

Schultz-Lorentzen.

for appointments in the Royal Greenland Trading Company or within the administration, but for various reasons it has, up to the present, not proved possible to carry this plan into execution.

In this connection it should be mentioned that the pupils of the seminary, besides being instructed in manual training, were also given the opportunity of practising and receiving instruction in the national occupations, *viz.* kayaking and hunting.

This reform of the teachers' college coincided with and had some bearing upon the religious and national movement, which with ever-increasing strength was going on among the Greenlanders and was accompanied by an awakening sense of progress and development; at the same time the economic system was undergoing a change, in that sealing, which had hitherto practically been the only occupation worth mentioning, could not in the long run satisfy the increasing population with its growing demands, and so began to be replaced by a more systematic fishery. For the young Greenlanders who now visited the seminary, this meant that they were eagerly and enthusiastically striving towards the object of going out, in due time, to work for the future of their countrymen. From the teachers' college a strong current set in towards the schools; every batch of new teachers contributed to this movement, and it made itself felt in the farthest recesses of the country. The superintending clergymen and chief catechists work with stronger impulse and initiative, and very great efforts have been made towards improving the external conditions of the school system, by the building and fitting up of new schools in many localities.

By the Act of 1905 the development of the educational system of Greenland once more received a fresh impetus. The above-mentioned secondary instruction which was promised, but had never been carried into effect, is now to become a reality, and such schools, with Danish teachers as principals, will be founded in various parts of Greenland; for the present, one in South Greenland and one in North Greenland¹. The new feature about this arrangement is the plan of introducing Danish as a subject in the elementary schools, which up to the present has only been attempted in quite few places, and which will naturally entail great difficulties. But all this belongs to the future.

The development which has taken place during this last period—the history of the school system since 1905—has found a tangible expression in the many new text-books, written by Greenlanders as well as by Danes, which are used in the schools. This mainly applies to the subjects: Greenlandic, Danish, history, geography, and arithmetic.

In this description we have only dealt with West Greenland from Cape Farewell in the south to Upernivik in the north, the area in which the work of colonization has been going on for many years. There are in Greenland, besides the population of these parts, two isolated tribes,

¹ The secondary schools were founded in 1928.

whose conditions are essentially different. The East Greenland tribe, comprising some 600 individuals, did not get its mission with the appertaining school until 1894. Here no great results can be expected, although all the children now receive regular instruction. In the Cape York District the Arctic Highlanders amount to some 200 to 300 individuals. Not until 1909 was a missionary, a native of West Greenland, sent there to take up the work



A lesson in gymnastics at the seminary.

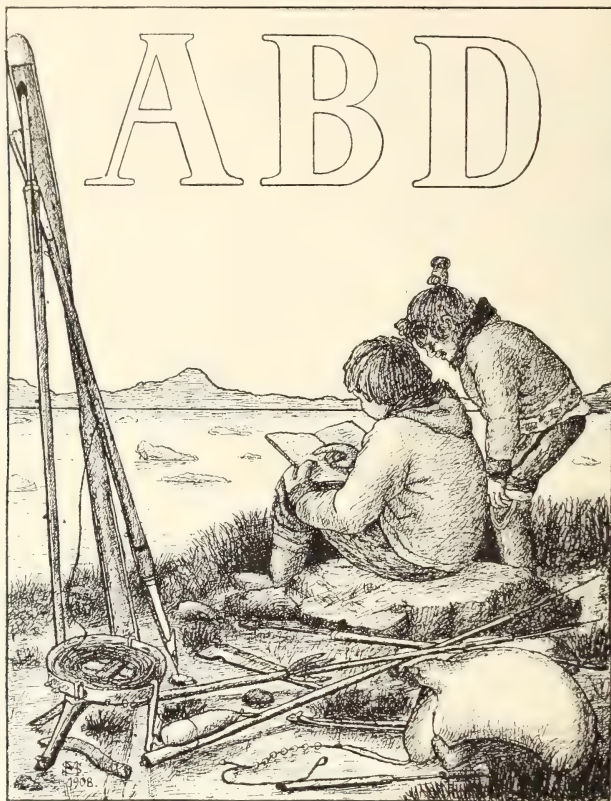
(Schultz-Lorentzen.)

among them, also by means of instruction, and the results attained are naturally not very considerable.

We will now proceed to give some statistics relating to school conditions in West Greenland, with a view to further illustrating and confirming what has been said above. We choose the year 1925, for which ample reports are at hand.

At the end of 1925 the population on the west coast of Greenland amounted to 14,033, distributed over the long coast line of about 1200 miles, and over 171 dwelling places. The most densely populated of these is the Sukkertoppen settlement with 576 native inhabitants and 13 dwelling places, most of them settlements containing more than 200 inhabitants. There were 33 dwelling places of between 200 and 100 inhabitants, 53 of between 100 and 50 inhabitants and, finally, there were 72 dwelling places with less than 50 inhabitants.

The number of children attending school is naturally in proportion to the number of inhabitants. It should be borne in mind that compulsory education was only introduced in 1925, but all children of the age when they should attend school, have done so of their own accord. The largest school (at the Sukkertoppen settlement) has 124 children, but there are several



Title page of the Greenlandic spelling-book, delineated by a Greenlander.

dwelling places where there are only two to five school children. Throughout Greenland there are in all 2840 children attending school.

The number of appointed teachers amounts to a total of 174. Of these 62 have passed their examination at the seminary, and 69 have had a less thorough training at the so-called catechists' schools, small schools which have been established in such places and at such periods where circumstances made it necessary; the instruction received at these schools extends over two years. Finally, there are 43 untrained teachers, *viz.* men and women who for a very small remuneration undertake the teaching of the young at sparsely populated dwelling places.

The period of instruction has varied in the various places, because the voyages of the sealers etc. must be taken into consideration. In the districts

farthest north and south, where the population still live in the Eskimo fashion, it is difficult to obtain a "school year" of more than 75 to 100 days at the smallest dwelling places, whereas at settlements and the larger dwelling places, the number of school days is 150 to 200.

There are 81 houses or rooms which are exclusively used for school purposes, though some of them are also used for church service on Sundays.

All of the 2840 school children are taught reading, writing, arithmetic and religion: about half of them, some 1300, receive instruction in history and geography, and 1100 in natural history.

West Greenland is divided into 12 parishes, the clergy of which supervise the schools of their own parish. Further, in every parish there are two or more districts under chief catechists, who superintend the schools in their own district. A superintendent or archdeacon undertakes journeys of inspection, and in the course of these he also visits the schools. A school inspector will now be appointed for this special task.

SANITATION AND HEALTH CONDITIONS IN GREENLAND

BY

ALFR. BERTELSEN,

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SANITATION AT THE TIME OF THE BEGINNING OF COLONIZATION.

As far back as we are able to penetrate in our investigations of the ideas entertained by the original population of Greenland, we will find that, like those of other Eskimos, they are stamped by the belief in a living and animated nature. Even man himself must be considered as a link in this world of spirits, and every event in nature or in the life of man is only understood as an intervention on the part of the operating spirits. Based upon these ideas a form of religion is developed, of which the leading thought is that certain individuals, when in an ecstatic state, have the power to establish direct communication with the lower spirits, and then by their assistance to approach the supreme beings and influence them. Every intervention or gracious change in the will of the spirits is only made possible by the conjurors, who in the Eskimo language have been called *angákoqs*.

Phenomena like death and disease are also looked upon as results of the intervention of spirits, and all counteracting and prevention is, therefore, naturally put into the hands of the *angákoqs*, who thus become the physicians and hygienists of the Eskimo population. It is possible to trace two parallel conceptions of diseases; they are partly considered as something caused by the spirits who have taken away the soul of the diseased, and partly as a proper being who has taken possession of the person in question. According to these two conceptions it is possible to distinguish between two different manners of treatment.

If the *angákoq* was of opinion that the disease was due to the taking away of the soul, it would have to be restored, or a new soul provided. In order to obtain this result the *angákoq* displayed his whole ritual of typical incantation, which display as a rule took place at night. The *angákoq* tried to work himself into an ecstatic state by means of singing and the monotonous sound of the drum, by violent and constantly repeated bodily

contortions, until at last he lost consciousness. In this ecstatic state his soul was supposed to be released from his body and to have established an immediate contact with his assistant spirits, and with their help he traced the robbed soul and carried it back with him. When the *angákoq* once more returned to a conscious state, he generally blew on the person diseased, and thus restored the soul to whom it belonged. He then decreed a number of traditional commandments or prohibitions, upon the observance of which



Fig. 1. The Polar Eskimo *angákoq* "Whalebone". (A. Bertelsen phot. 1905).

the final results of the cure were supposed to depend, and the object of which was to reconcile, or at least not to further enrage, the secret powers of existence. A number of devices, particularly ventriloquism or actual conjuring tricks, contributed towards convincing the spectators of the supernatural character of the ceremony, and this, combined with the common terror of the spirits, exercised a considerable suggestion, naturally first and foremost on the patient with his generally supersensitive nerve system.

The *angákoqs* tried to find out, how serious the disease was, and how it would terminate, partly by asking the aurora borealis and partly by lifting the head of the patient. If the head was heavy,

the disease would end in death; if the opposite was the case, the prospects were brighter.

On the other hand, in such cases where the disease was supposed to be due to possession, an attempt was made to remove the latter *in natura* from the body of the diseased. This was most frequently done by the *angákoq* sucking the affected part of the body, and then exhibiting a bit of skin or such like, which he pretended to have removed from it, and which was generally supposed to be the very embodiment of the disease. It is also known to have been customary for the *angákoq* to make certain hocuspocus, the object of which was to make the onlookers believe that he ripped open the abdomen of the diseased, took out the intestines, cleaned them of the disease and then put them back again, so that the diseased might be cured at once.

When suffering from some illness or other the Eskimos now and again, besides the *angákoqs*, sought a remedy in traditional, mystical charms, which in themselves were supposed to possess the power to help.

To prevent diseases various amulets were employed, and one may generally trace a sympathetic transfer as the leading principle in their use.

It is, however, a matter of course that no primitive people—the original Greenland population no more than others—can limit itself to a treatment of diseases which arises from the belief in supernatural phenomena. In the daily routine of life, in the constant fight against surrounding nature, man must necessarily receive a number of injuries, the cause of which is immediately apparent. As in such cases there can be no question of taking away the soul or of possession, so also the treatment of these sufferings, necessitated by the need of the moment, falls outside the incantations and other cures of the *angákoqs*. As instances may be mentioned that wounds were sewn up and bandaged, boils opened by a cross-cut and protected by a suitable bandage against pressure and blows; the contents of the urine tub were used for the staunching of blood; fractured bones were replaced and immobilised; and such like.

INTRODUCTION OF A MEDICAL SYSTEM ON EUROPEAN LINES.

Such was the conception and treatment of diseases in Greenland at the time of the beginning of the Danish colonization. The first knowledge of European surgery may *a priori* be supposed to have been brought by the surgeons, who are known to have accompanied the whaling boats; but this seems to have been quite transitory, and it is not possible to trace its influence.

Not before the time of Hans Egede do we find the rapid extermination of the *angákoqs* with their treatment of diseases, and the gradual introduction of a medical system according to European ideas. Already during the early years of the Danish colonization a surgeon was permanently installed at Godthaab, and, besides, ships called every year, so that the country was regularly visited by these ships' surgeons. Also, owing to the efforts of Hans Egede after his return to Copenhagen, a physician was sent up to the Godthaab settlement in 1742, but he left, after two years, and the attempt to provide the Greenlanders with regular medical attendance which had been begun by Hans Egede was abandoned for the time being. During the following fifty years only the whaling establishments are known to have been provided with medical officers, though the latter were instructed, in case of need, to help the servants of the mission, and also the officials of the settlement and the Greenlanders. Otherwise the missionaries were provided with the medicines necessary for the treatment of the natives.

Finally, in the year 1793, chiefly on the initiative of Inspector B. J. Schultz, a post was created as "surgeon at the surgeoncy of the North Greenland Inspectorate," and in the instructions issued for this office

emphasis was laid on the fact that the objects of keeping a medical officer or surgeon in this country were the following: "that all Danes living in Disko Bay, where the establishments were close to one another and communication nearly always possible, might receive the necessary help in case of disease; and that all Greenlanders, if at all possible, might take advantage of this arrangement by personal attendance." The surgeon was only permitted to go to Ũmánaq when sent for, and only during the winter. In 1802 the surgeoncy was extended so as to comprise all Danes and Greenlanders in the North Greenland Inspectorate, though during the following forty years only the population of the districts in Disko Bay really had



Fig. 2. House of medical officer at Jacobshavn, built in 1866.
(R. Bentzen phot. 1900).

access to European medical aid. Not until 1839 a medical station was established in Godthaab, and this comprised South Greenland with the exception of the district of the Julianehaab settlement, whereas in the instructions issued at the same time for the medical officer of North Greenland (the Jacobshavn medical district) the future sphere of that office was fixed at the settlements in Disko Bay, as well as the district of the Ũmánaq, but not of the Upernivik settlement. In 1851 a medical station was established at Julianehaab, and from 1874 the district of the Upernivik settlement came under the Jacobshavn medical district. The first hospitals were founded in 1853 at Jacobshavn, in 1856 at Godthaab, and in 1867 at Julianehaab. A summary of the progress of medical aid appears in the specified table attached.

Besides their actual medical work, several of the Greenland medical officers have made researches which for years will keep their names from oblivion.

Periods	Physicians (or surgeons) appointed at the settlements:														
	Upernivik	Umanaq	Jacobshavn	Clausshavn	Christianshaab	Egedesminde	Godhavn	Holsteinsborg	Sukkertoppen	Godthaab	Frederikshaab	Arsuk	Ivigut	Julianaab	Nanortalik
1721—24										—					
1724—25								—		—					
1725—34										—					
1742—44										—					
1767—68										(—)					
1778—80			—	—			—	—							
1782—87							(—)								
1787—88	(—)						(—)								
1788—90							(—)								
1793—94			—												
1794—1827							—								
1827—32				—											
1832—37			—	—											
1837—39				—										(—)	
1839—51			—	(—)						—				(—)	
1851—55			—	(—)						—				—	(—)
1855—56			—							—				—	(—)
1856—58			—			(—)				—				—	(—)
1858—63	(—)		—							—				—	(—)
1863—66	(—)		—							—				—	
1866—74	(—)		—							—				—	
1874—82			—							—				—	
1882—93			—							—		—	—	—	
1893—1905			—							—			—	—	
1905—06		—	—							—			—	—	
1906—07		—	—		—			—		—			—	—	
1907—08		—	—					—		—			—	—	
1908—13		—	—					—	—	—			—	—	
1913—15		—	—						—	—			—	—	
1915—16	—	—	—						—	—			—	—	
1916—21	—	—	—			—			—	—			—	—	
1921—24	—	—	—			—			—	—	—		—	—	
1924—	—	—	—			—		(—)	—	—	—		—	—	

(—) means a surgeon or physician living privately, or one appointed to officiate as physician whenever required, even though his actual position is a trader or assistant trader.

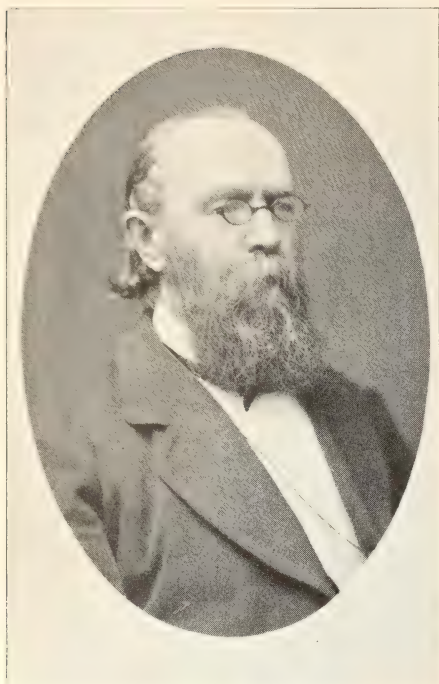


Fig. 3. Dr. C. G. F. Pfaff.

land" (1906) furnished what is in the main a theoretical basis of the laws by which Greenland is governed. Thomas Neergaard Krabbe (Arsuk 1889—90, Godthaab 1891—1901), Otto Helms (Ivigut 1890—91, Arsuk 1893) and Henrik Deichmann (Julianehaab 1903—06, Holsteinsborg 1906—10, Ũmánaq 1910—11) have all made valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Greenland fauna. Finally, Gustav Axel Nielsen Meldorf (Julianehaab 1897—1903), in addition to independent researches regarding diseases in Greenland, diligently collected and published the material contained in the reports and descriptions of diseases, made by his predecessors in Greenland, which had before then chiefly existed only in manuscript.

Johan Andreas v. Osten (Godthaab 1742—44) in his "Anstiltte Jagttagelser i Grönland" (Samleren 1788) has thus left an interesting memorial of his activity as well as of his period. Of later years may be mentioned Christian Georg Frederik Pfaff (Jacobsbavn 1854—76), who collected the very considerable material forming the basis of "Bibliographia Groenlandica" (M. o. G. 1890), while his interest in zoology and archæology was of considerable significance to the Copenhagen and Stockholm museums. Rolf Aage Ibsen (Godthaab 1880—85) wrote several works of fiction on Greenland subjects, with descriptions of scenery of unusual excellency. Holger Sverdrup Kiær (Jacobshavn 1882—83, 1889—99, 1905—12, Holsteinsborg 1912—13) in his work "Dansk Indflydelse i Grøn-



Fig. 4. Dr. H. S. Kiær.

MIDWIFERY.

The development of midwifery runs parallel with the development of regular medical aid. In former times assistance at births seems to have been given by a couple of women, who at the actual hour of birth wrapped broad sealstraps round the abdomen of the parturient woman; further, a stick was frequently inserted between the straps, in order to increase the pressure. At more difficult births the midwife tried to help the child forth by treading



Fig. 5. Native midwife watching her patient. (H. C. Christensen phot. 1910).

on or straining her knee against the abdomen of the woman, if she was not contented with trusting to the well-known Eskimo home remedy of holding an inverted urine-tub over the head of the woman in labour.

As is easily understood, this kind of midwifery might often become fatal to mother as well as to child, and after repeated accidents the North Greenland Inspectorate in the year 1820 decided to issue a general prohibition against using "violence of any kind towards any woman in labour." At the same time it was decided that a native woman, especially qualified for this work, should be appointed midwife at every settlement, and these midwives were entrusted to the care and instruction of the medical officer Hans Johan Frederich Lerch (Godhavn 1802—27, Claushavn 1827—39, and (privately) 1839—55 in the latter place), as often as he was able to visit the various establishments on his journeys. In 1829 a course of training under the supervision of the surgeon and extending over a period of one

year was instituted, and in the same year "Underretning for Jordemødre i Grønland af Chirurg Lerch" was published.

This was the first step towards the manner of training, which has since prevailed in Greenland. Young native women who may be supposed to be qualified for midwifery, are taken on as pupils at the permanent residence of the medical officer, and after having passed through courses extending over one or two years in midwifery and nursing, treatment of wounds and the like, they are appointed as midwives and nurses in the district. Those of them who show special ability for this kind of work, are sent down for further training at the Copenhagen Maternity Hospital. The total number of Greenland midwives is at the present time about 100, *viz.* one for every 70 women. This apparently very large number is naturally explained by the extent of the country and its peculiar manner of habitation, the immense coast line of upwards of 3,000 kilometres, with a few hundreds of scattered dwelling places, averaging a population of about fifty. As already mentioned, the midwives, during the period of their training, also receive some instruction in nursing, and in their activity they are generally to be considered as the direct assistants of the medical officers.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF MEDICAL AID.

Furthermore, the medical officers have always had the advantage of the support and assistance of the officials of the Royal Greenland "Trade", and as early as in 1786, before medical aid was properly organized, a circular was sent out by the North Greenland Inspectorate recommending the combating of infectious diseases "to the deliberation, care and wisdom of every official." Even after the organization of proper medical aid the officials of the Royal Greenland "Trade" were the highest authorities, should the physician not happen to be present. At every trading post there were—and are—for the use of the population all common medicines and bandages, which were distributed by the said officials, free of cost and upon the whole administered to the best of their ability. In doubtful cases they had recourse to popular medical books such as Weisbach's "Grundige Cuur af alle Sygdomme" (1755) and at the present time more particularly to Hastrup's "Vejledning til rigtig Anvendelse af de Lægemidler, der findes ved Kolonierne i Grønland" (II ed., 1905).

After the whole of the colonized coast of Greenland had, in 1874, been included under the three existing medical districts, this arrangement remained essentially unchanged until 1905. Since then the development, as it will appear from the above-mentioned summary, has constantly tended towards a division of the former districts by the establishment of new medical stations, there being at the present time altogether nine stations in Greenland. Of these that of Ivigtût is a private institution, its object being to



Fig. 6. Native trader assisting one of his countrymen in tooth extraction. (A. C. Rasmussen phot. 1915).



Fig. 7. Danish nurse with native pupil midwives. (R. Bentzen phot. 1907).

supply medical aid to the officials and workmen of the cryolite company, but at times it has naturally also been of value to the native population of the immediate vicinity. The station of Frederikshaab was founded as a temporary station, particularly with the object of combating venereal diseases among the population.

The remaining 7 stations are, however, Government offices with the following spheres of activity:

Julianehaab	medical district	about 600 km in length	with 3400 inhabitants
Godthaab	"	"	" 400 " " " " 2200 "
Sukkertoppen	"	"	" 400 " " " " 2100 "
Egedesminde	"	"	" 300 " " " " 2000 "
Jacobshavn	"	"	" 300 " " " " 1800 "
Ůmánaq	"	"	" 400 " " " " 1400 "
Upervivik	"	"	" 500 " " " " 1100 "

The medical officers reside at the settlement from which the whole district derives its name. From here they travel at least once a year by



Fig. 8. Conveyance of the medical officer before the introduction of the motor boats. (R. Bentzen phot. 1898).

motor boat or by dog sledge over the whole of their district to superintend all the inhabited places. They also visit the temporary dwellings and sealing places within the fjords or out on the islands of the *Skærgaard*, and everywhere the population is given the opportunity of consulting the medical officer. Patients are examined and given the necessary advice; medicines are distributed, urgent minor operations undertaken, and a general vaccination is held, while the stock of medicines is supervised and supplied, and the appointed midwives receive the necessary instruction, etc. But also outside such regular yearly voyages of inspection, the medical officer is frequently, in cases of serious illness, called to more remote places, or the patients are taken to his permanent residence. At all the medical stations there are small nursing homes with accommodation for 6 to 36 patients; these are supervised by Danish nurses and in every respect well-provided and furnished.

Besides the management of these nursing homes and the supervision of patients at the settlements, it is the duty of the medical officer to distribute and partly prepare the medicines required and also, as already mentioned, to supervise the training of the midwives, and finally, he must see to the maintenance of the instructions applying to the public sanitation of the district. For each of the provinces one of the medical officers is appointed special adviser of the administration in all matters relating to the public health.

The medical officers have fixed salaries without further payment for



Fig. 9. The boat of the medical officer on its way to patients.
(A. Bertelsen phot. 1914).

practise among the native population and the crews of the vessels of the Royal Greenland "Trade". All medicine and treatment at the hospitals is given gratis to the population. For needy patients the municipal councils at times grant the necessary support in the shape of food, apparel and the like; though in cases where medical officers and midwives are present it is for them to decide the scope of the help to be given.

On the initiative of the Danish charitable association "Foreningen til Hjælp for grønlandske Born" (i. e. The Society for help of Greenland children) a sanatorium with twenty beds has been built, in 1925, at the Sukkertoppen settlement. A Danish nurse, under the supervision of the medical officer of that district, is at the head of this sanatorium, the costs of which are defrayed by the said association.

BIRTHRATE AND MORTALITY AMONG THE GREENLAND POPULATION.

In the period 1851—1900 births amounted to 36.5 per mille (for North Greenland 36 and for South Greenland 37), and there does not seem to be any decrease in this rather high birth rate. The fertility seems virtually to be the same for the Eskimos and the mixed race; at any rate it is not lower in the case of the former.

The distribution of births according to the months was as follows: Jan. 9.4—Febr. 9.2—March 9—April 8.2—May 8.5—June 8—July 8.4—Aug. 7.7—Sept. 8.1—Oct. 7.6—Nov. 7.8 and Dec. 8.1. The seasonal frequency of births seems to be connected with periods in the nourishment of the population.

The proportion of boys and girls born was 106 boys as against 100 girls (North Greenland 105, South Greenland 107). Births outside wedlock made about 5 per cent of the total number.

The ages of child-bearing mothers as a rule do not deviate very much from those of northern Europe, whereas the relative ages of unmarried mothers show that "seduction" must play a very small part in Greenland; as compared with Denmark there are thus only half as many unmarried mothers under twenty-five years of age, though, on the other hand, twice as many as calculated in the following periods of life. The beginning of the menstruation may be put at the age of 15—16, and the climacteric at about 45; the average duration of labour is about ten hours.

For the years 1861—1900 the mortality in Greenland was 33 per mille (27 for North Greenland and 37 for South Greenland), being somewhat less in the later than in the earlier decades. In Europe a correspondingly high mortality is only to be found in the Slav countries. The rate of mortality for men is 128 as against 100 for women (125 for North Greenland, 131 for South Greenland), a difference considerably greater than is generally found in other countries.

Upon the whole the duration of life is short; the mortality of infants is large; boys of 10—15 show the same mortality rate as men in the forties in Denmark. The mortality of the Greenland woman in the twenties is like that of the Danish woman about fifty, but more particularly the mortality rate of adult males is very high.

The following table shows the mortality of the two sexes in the different periods of life.

For every 10.000 individuals in the specified age there was a yearly mortality amounting to:

Age	North Greenland 1861-1900		South Greenland 1861-1900	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0—5.....	551	483	947	843
5—10.....	109	106	119	106
10—15.....	97	60	98	83
15—20.....	177	79	238	109
20—25.....	299	170	380	182
25—30.....	266	145	412	175
30—35.....	311	222	304	236
35—40.....	274	241	336	276
40—45.....	291	224	418	305
45—50.....	431	226	530	332
50—55.....	591	350	709	467
55—60.....	609	504	849	635
60—65.....	1107	737	1092	794
65—70.....	1385	750	1173	1129
70—75.....	2500	1192	2833	2541
75—80.....	4000	1937	?	4250
80—85.....	?	3500	?	?

As to the causes of death it is impossible to make more than an approximate estimation. One third of all deaths are presumably caused by tuberculosis, another third falls upon children under the age of five, often caused by bronchial and enteric catarrhs. About one-sixth is owing to accidents or deaths in child-birth, and finally the last sixth may be distributed on such diseases as epilepsy, carbuncles, cancer, etc.

As the causes of death have been given by non-experts, a closer investigation is only possible for the groups comprising accidents. The frequency of accidents, however, is so unique that they should be subjected to a somewhat closer investigation. In the years 1861—1900 the number of men who died from accidents was in North Greenland 52, and in South Greenland even 78 yearly per 10,000 men of all ages; but particularly the number of deaths from accidents for men of the age of 20—25 was in North Greenland twice, and in South Greenland three times the death rate of Danes of the corresponding ages from all causes of death. As regards this manner of death, the proportion between the sexes is 21 males to 1 female, and death from accidents is thus in itself almost sufficient to explain the immense difference between the mortality of the two sexes. Of every 100 deaths from accidents by far the greater part were caused by drowning, *viz.* 77 for North Greenland and 88 for South Greenland, of which 62 and 81, respectively, were due to kayak accidents.

HYGIENIC CONDITIONS IN GREENLAND.

The grim nature of the Polar countries only yields a meagre subsistence, and so the population of Greenland has become a scattered, hardy and poor people. Moreover, like nearly all hunters and fishermen, the Greenlanders are very uneconomical, being apt to live only for the moment and to leave the future to take care of itself.

What chiefly characterizes the nutrition of the Greenlanders is the general scarcity, together with the prevailing lack of foresight. There is no doubt that excess in eating at times occurs in Greenland, but it is also certain that nowhere does such starvation exist as in times of need there. The names of various dwelling places bear testimony to the fact that owing to the complete failure of sealing and hunting all the inhabitants have in the olden times often been starved to death. Now, with the present supply of European provisions and the organized parochial relief of the poor, such catastrophes may be considered practically excluded. The ordinary food of the population is essentially of an animal kind; it contains large quantities of albumin and fats and a very small percentage of carbohydrates.

A comparison between Greenlandic and European fare shows the following (calculated in gram):

Daily amount of food	albumin	fats	carbohydrates	calories
Danish crofter	106	130	558	3933
Greenlander	280	135	54	2590

As a rule the food is simply boiled, frequently in sea water, and the Eskimos use no condiments or spices of any kind; in many cases, however, meat and fish is eaten raw, either wind-dried or frozen. Variety is frequently obtained by various degrees of decomposition—more or less dangerous to health. The chief drink is water, but in fetching it a little more attention might be paid to cleanliness than to the convenience of the carrier; besides the Greenlanders nowadays consume large quantities of coffee and tea. Of imported foods flour, ground cereals and sugar play a very great part in the diets of the various employ  es of the settlements, who have less opportunity of obtaining their food by hunting and fishing. Vegetable foods are comparatively rare, being as a rule limited to the short summer season.

The apparel of the Greenlanders may be termed serviceable, although frequently of poor quality, and in the winter insufficient for protection against the cold weather. The introduction of linen must naturally from a hygienic point of view be considered an advantage, particularly as a preventive against the occurrence of skin diseases, but, on the other hand, the unlimited market for the sale of sealskins at the trading posts must

be considered a still greater disadvantage, on account of the tendency to let the stock of apparel and footwear run low. The decline of sealing is, however, beginning to put obstacles in the way of a satisfactory solution of the clothing problem, particularly for South Greenland.

The dwellings are the weakest point in the hygiene of the Greenlanders. As in natural in a country of such a large extent, conditions are not everywhere the same. In the districts where the fisheries of recent years have caused a prosperity, hitherto unknown, among the native population, this has led to an unmistakable improvement of their houses, but in other localities conditions are, even now, by no means satisfactory. The sites are frequently badly chosen, nearly always badly drained; and the immediate surroundings almost everywhere become refuse heaps. The living room is crowded, badly ventilated, damp and dirty, as it must be when used at the same time as kitchen, larder, eating and sitting room, working place, bedroom and partly latrine (at any rate for small children). Dwellings are greatly diversified, from holes which one would rather suppose to be the lairs of animals than accommodation for human beings, to houses which resemble small European apartments. One gets an idea of this when comparing the areas measured, which range from 0.60 to 10.80 cubic metres per individual (on an average 3.00 cubic metres per individual). Also in the internal arrangement of the houses there is naturally a great difference, at least as far as cleanliness is concerned, the dwellings of the Greenlanders being upon the whole less satisfactory on this point. The replacing of the old gut panes by glass has, to some extent, improved the light conditions in the houses, though the windows are generally very small.

As regards household implements, cleanliness is generally also a sore point, this being further aggravated by the prevailing common use of eating utensils, etc. The bedding is as a rule—particularly in North Greenland—deficient and dirty.

There is a distinct movement towards dividing larger households into smaller ones, thus causing a successive increase in the number of small houses. It is very doubtful whether much better sanitary conditions have been obtained in this manner, and from a hygienic point of view the disinclination to move into tents during the summer months means an absolute retrogression.

The personal cleanliness of the Greenlanders leaves very much to be desired. In an earlier period it seems that sudatories were in common use, but during later years the increasing modesty of the population, and a ready market for blubber (*viz.* the fuel used for these baths) have gradually done away with the use of them without others being substituted. At the present time the body of a Greenlander—with the exception of his face and hands—after his first childhood only by chance gets into touch with water. The undergarment worn is, furthermore, often the only one possessed,

and is generally worn from the day it is acquired, to the day when it must be burnt as a brownish, stiff, sticky, almost crumbling rag. It is evident, therefore, that conditions for the growth and spread of *pediculi* are extremely favourable among the poorer or least developed part of the population. The inhabitants as a rule void their faeces as close to the house as possible. Here they are left uncovered, and, particularly in South Greenland, where not removed by the dogs, they contribute greatly to the pollution of the soil.



Fig. 10. Faeces outside a house at Julianehaab.
(R. Bentzen phot. 1907).

It may be a matter for surprise that a population which, like that of Greenland, is considered even very intelligent should not long ago have attained a higher hygienic standard, but in that respect it must be borne in mind that the conditions of life of the Greenlanders—one of the “marginal” peoples of the earth—are unfavourable in the extreme, neither must it be forgotten that when such

a great part of the total energy of a nation is required for the very maintenance of life, there is very little left for further cultural development.

HEALTH CONDITIONS.

THE DISEASES MOST COMMON AMONG THE NATIVE POPULATION.

One of the objects of the closing of Greenland is, as far as possible, to prevent the introduction of infectious diseases among the native population. Therefore, both the crews and the passengers of every ship sent to Greenland by the Government are subjected to medical examination, and a satisfactory bill of health is also demanded from foreign ships calling here for water, supplies etc. Thus health conditions in Greenland become something apart, and in particular many epidemic diseases are of rarer occurrence and different from those found elsewhere. It has, however, generally speaking, proved very difficult to bring about a favourable state of health, as appears from the very high rate of mortality before mentioned.

This discrepancy is, in the first place, owing to the prevalence of tuber-

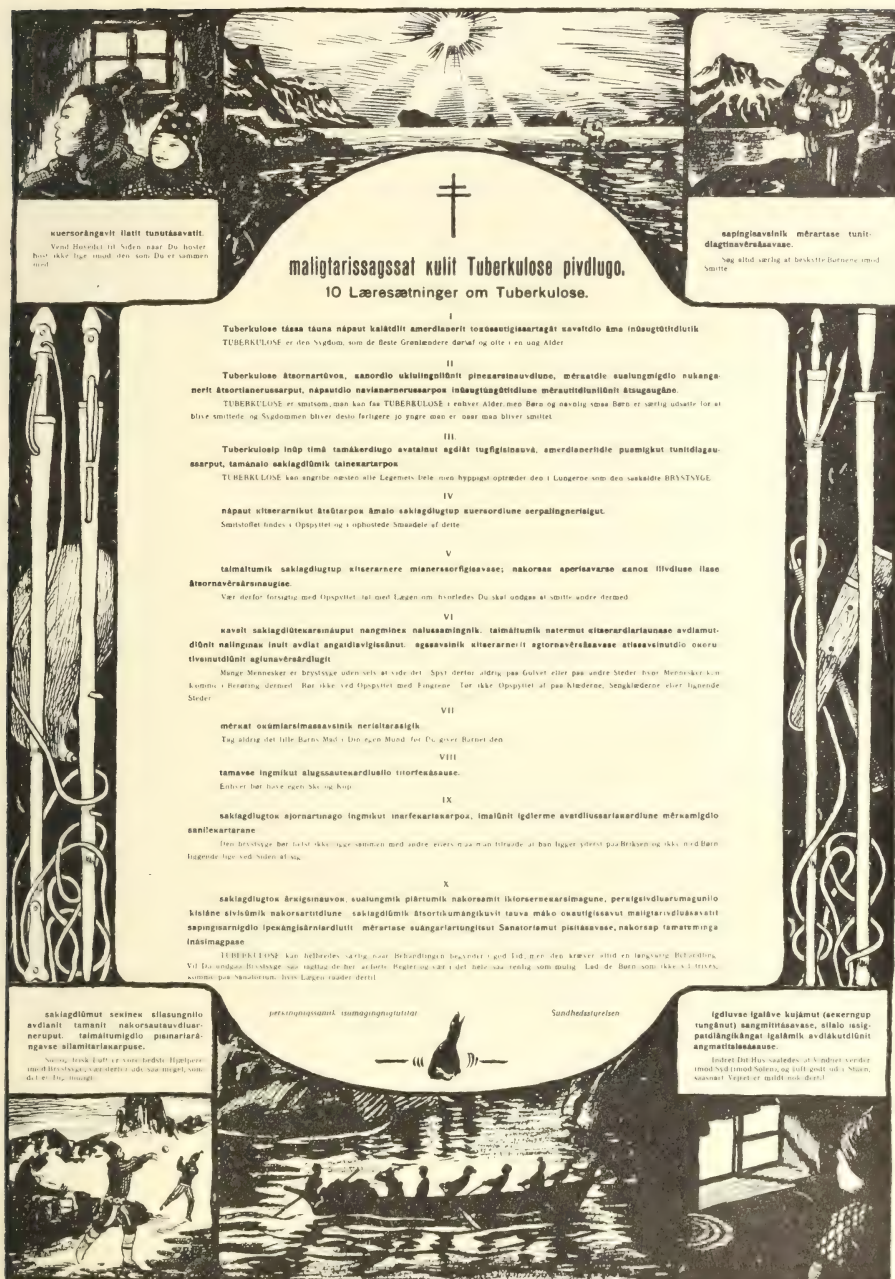


Fig. 11. Instructions regarding tuberculosis, issued for Greenland by the Danish Board of Health, 1928.

culosis, which disease is known from of old among the inhabitants of Greenland—at any rate it is possible to say for certain that it existed prior to the beginning of the Danish settlement—and about a tenth of the population nowadays show clinically traceable symptoms of tuberculosis of the lungs. Besides the above-mentioned general hygienic negligence of the population, which manifests itself in various ways, an almost incredible recklessness is shown in the disposal of the sputum of the person affected, and this, of course, contributes greatly to the constant spreading of the contagion. The manner in which the inhabitants of the house are accommodated on the sleeping platform only permits them to turn the back of their heads towards the room, and thus patients are prevented from expectorating over the edge of the platform. The patient then generally removes the sputum from his mouth with his fingers, and either disposes of it on the floor or, as far as possible, in an old tin or a piece of paper; the remainder is then rubbed off against the edge of the platform, and finally the fingers are dried on the bedding. The patients, also when going about, as a rule show great carelessness in the disposal of the sputum, and in spite of energetic efforts on the part of the medical officers, this point still leaves extremely much to be desired. Apart from the lungs, the meninx, intestines, bones and joints are affected by tuberculosis; on the other hand, scrofula occurs rather rarely, and lupus seems unknown.

Of almost equal importance, though not from the point of view of mortality, are the various sufferings which owe their origin to inflammatory bacteria. Sufferings such as *furunculi*, *panaritium*, *lymphangitis* or *mastitis* occur with a frequency which accords entirely with the lack of cleanliness of person and surroundings described above; and on account of the temporary reduction of strength, caused by these various kinds of inflammation, they are a very important factor in the economic life of the Greenlanders, as it is thus rendered still more insecure. *Erysipelas*, particularly *facial erysipelas*, is another endemically occurring disease which more nearly comes under the latter category, and is generally of a fairly mild character compared with the *erysipelas* epidemics mentioned below. Closely connected with the prevailing lack of cleanliness is undoubtedly the common occurrence of *pediculi*, *scabies*, *impetigo* and *conjunctivitis* as well as *oxyuris vermicularis*.

The typical Greenland diet, almost exclusively consisting of animal food, does not materially influence the state of health of the native population; worthy of note is, therefore, the rare occurrence of diseases such as *arthritis urica*, *renal calculi* and other symptoms of uric acid diathesis. The more or less inadequate preparation of the food now and again manifests itself in serious cases of poisoning; insufficiency and poor quality (exclusively fish diet) at times cause considerable scurvy. As to the nutrition of children, it is of the greatest importance that it is, as a rule, impossible to provide any substitute for the mother's milk; sufferings which in themselves are com-

paratively insignificant, as *mastitis*, may thus in Greenland cause the most serious nutritive disturbances, at times even the death of infants. In this connection it should be mentioned that *rachitis* is practically unknown.

As a fact presumably bearing upon the diet, it is to be noted that tooth caries, which in Denmark is to be found in about 97 per cent of the population, in Greenland occurs in rather more than half of the population at the settlements, but only in a fourth at the outposts, where the manner of living is upon the whole less influenced by European civilization.

It should further be mentioned that the administration, greatly to the benefit of the population, always prevented the sale of alcohol in Greenland, and therefore alcoholism is unknown among the native population. As to stimulants only coffee and tobacco play any part by the use or abuse made of them.

It is a commonly prevailing tendency—originally going back to Rousseau—to represent so-called primitive peoples as particularly healthy from a mental point of view. This is, however, far from being the case; on the contrary, among people closer to the state of nature one finds, first and foremost, a highly developed susceptibility, a deficient reflective power and a strongly coloured imagination. Only with a more highly developed culture comes the controlling intellectual calm, whereas quite unimportant events make uncivilized people give vent to wild outbursts of emotion.

Add to this, as in the case of the Greenlanders, the characteristic natural conditions, the wastes, the great silence, the oppressive darkness of the winter nights—gigantic forces combined with a frequency of accidents greater than in any other country in the world—so unsafe, so terribly threatened. Therefore, it is not strange that the sudden and violent impressions, together with the other above-mentioned factors should have formed, as it were, a common soil for neurasthenics and hysterics, frequently giving rise to various forms of mental derangement. Epilepsy is another frequently occurring complaint, but the mental suffering which plays the greatest part in the economic life of the Greenlanders, is the widely spread pathological fear; one form of the *topophobies* group—the kayak fear—furthermore occurs under conditions demanding the utmost energy on the part of the person concerned, and so often forces the sufferer to give up what has hitherto been his means of subsistence.

Besides the diseases mentioned above, there are in Greenland light endemics of *varicellæ*, sporadic cases of diseases like *pneumonia crouposa* and less important sufferings, such as *herpes zoster* etc. Cancer occurs frequently, and is known both in the form of *Sarcom* and *Carcinom*. Deformities are comparatively frequent, and *herniae* is also quite a common complaint. Blindness occurs in about 3 per mille of the total population, several of these cases being caused by *glaucoma*.

The peculiar natural and economic conditions and the trades followed naturally cause numerous bodily injuries.

HEALTH CONDITIONS AMONG EUROPEANS IN GREENLAND.

The good conditions under which, as a rule, Europeans live in Greenland, naturally leave their impress on the general state of health.

The spread of tuberculosis is thus very limited among them, but there are other complaints which occur pretty frequently; for instance, the unaccustomed heavy diet, principally consisting of meat, frequently causes catarrh of the stomach, and it is also supposed that the climate rather favours rheumatism. Also gallstone and *renal calculi* occur with a frequency which must be considered to be greater than in Europe, and many Europeans living in Greenland have suffered from stubborn cases of eczema, while among the European children proportionally many cases of *rachitis* occur. Of the greatest importance in respect of health is, however, the influence of the country on the nervous system of those who have come to live there. The long distance from the Mother-country, the forced association with the same few people or the absolute loneliness, the lack of suitable variety, the comparative inactivity, the monotony which often makes life feel curiously unreal and shadowy, an existence essentially limited to the daily metabolic process, the journeys, frequently with a distinct element of danger, the close contact with the forces of nature, the illimitable space, the stillness and the darkness, operate strongly on the mind. During the first part of the stay all of these factors not infrequently result in an increased irritability and a morbid distrust of the surroundings; later on a certain dulling of the initiative and a coarsening of the whole mental life are the most conspicuous symptoms. In certain cases, with special mental predispositions, the reaction may set in far more strongly, terminating in pronounced insanity.

Among the causes of death among Europeans in Greenland must be mentioned *nephritis*, *eclampsy* and cancer; in former times also scurvy, suicide and accidents.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE AND SEASONS ON HEALTH CONDITIONS.

It cannot be said that the climate of Greenland has any great influence on the sick rate, with the exception of its significance for the occurrence of chronic rheumatism. This disease, so widely spread among the Greenlanders, is undoubtedly in some way or other influenced by atmospheric conditions, its Greenlandic name meaning "to have to do with coming weather," and it is common in Greenland as elsewhere for sufferers to presage changes in the weather by certain local pains. But apart from such complaints as snow-blindness and more or less serious frost-bites, it is difficult to assign any direct influence to climate, except in so far as most complaints have some bearing upon conditions created by the climate, as the influence on tuberculosis exercised by the limited space, which in its turn is the result of difficulties connected with the heating of houses, etc.

While denying any considerable direct influence of the climate on the state of health, it may on first thoughts seem absurd to ascribe any great importance to the influence of the seasons. That this is fully justifiable, however, appears at once when considering the manner in which deaths are distributed over the various seasons—the recognition of the proportion between the mortality and sick rate being presupposed. During the period from 1851—1900 the mortality in the various months has been as follows: Jan. 7.4—Feb. 7.4—March 8.2—April 7.1—May 7.6—June 9.9—July 10.1—Aug. 9.5—Sept. 9.2—Oct. 9.0—Nov. 7.8 and Dec. 6.8.

It is striking that neither in the “period of scarcity” (Nov.—Dec.), nor in the transition from this to a period of greater abundance of food is there any increase in mortality; neither do there seem to be any immediate consequences arising from the stay in the winter houses. The severest cold is unaccompanied by a great sick rate, and even the absence of the sun in the arctic night fails to show definite results. The influence of the seasons on the sick rate and mortality is due, partly to the release of contagious matter from the frozen earth and the protective cover of snow (endemic bronchial and enteric catarrhs in the spring), partly and more particularly to the communication with Europe, which only takes place at stated intervals, and to the epidemics introduced through this communication. For every single district it can be proved that the highest sick rate is immediately consequent upon the time of the year when the direct communication with Europe opens.

CHIEF EPIDEMICS IN GREENLAND.

No epidemic is of similar significance to the Greenlanders as the various bronchial and enteric catarrhs, which are annually introduced into the country through the communication with Europe, and then—often within a surprisingly short period—spread over long stretches of the coast, from one inhabited place to another. However careful the inspection, it seems impossible to prevent the transference of these complaints, the contagion from which it springs presumably being almost constant everywhere in Europe. Apart from the epidemics (and endemics), acute bronchial catarrhs (“colds”) are not known in Greenland, however much the individual is exposed to cold, weather changes etc., whereas during the epidemics it is rare to come across a single person who is entirely exempt. These epidemics may be more or less serious in different years. Sometimes they may be comparatively harmless “cold” epidemics, but in other years they may prove to be severe influenza epidemics (formerly most frequently called “stitch” epidemics) with numerous cases of pneumonia and very serious consequences, especially for infants and adults infected with tuberculosis.

Of other diseases occurring periodically in Greenland, special mention should be made of venereal diseases, because they appear endemically every-

where in Europe, whereas, owing to the closing of Greenland, it has until the last years been possible to prevent them from gaining a firm foothold. The venereal disease generally most feared of all, *viz.* syphilis, was introduced in 1872 at the outpost Arsuk, through the sexual intercourse between the Greenland women and the foreign crews, and also the workmen at the cryolite mines. As the number of cases constantly increased, a special medical officer was appointed at Arsuk for the combating of the disease (See table



Fig. 12. Children showing results of vaccination to the medical officer.
(A. Bertelsen phot. 1914),

on p. 367). This took place in 1882, and at the same time Arsuk was isolated from the remainder of the country. In 1893, however, this medical station was discontinued, no infectious cases having occurred within a couple of years: in all about fifty individuals of the native population had been infected. Gonorrhea has repeatedly been introduced, and has during the very latest years spread rather widely in several of the districts, especially in the two southernmost. The establishment of the medical station at Frederikshaab in 1921 was chiefly owing to the wish of combating this disease; but the free sexual morals of the population put obstacles in the way of the solution of this task.

As to mortality, no other epidemic can be at all compared with small-pox. In 1733 this disease was for the first time introduced into Greenland and carried away 2—3000 individuals; in 1800 a similar epidemic carried away

at least 500; later on a few smaller epidemics occurred, the last being in 1852. Vaccination was begun in 1802, and may now be considered so thorough that large small-pox epidemics seem to be excluded.

The whooping cough epidemics have always been very violent, and during the last hundred years no less than about ten such have been raging. As a rule nearly all children under one year die in the district affected, the mortality of infants rising to 15—20 times that of the normal death rate.

Furthermore, there have been very serious epidemics of *erysipelas migrans*, at any rate three; in particular the localization of the disease to the abdominal wall has very frequently been accompanied by *peritonitis* and has caused a considerable mortality. Also *meningitis cerebrospinalis*, *poliomyelitis acuta epidemica*, *angina Ludovici* and *febris rheumatica* have occurred epidemically.

Typhus has been introduced, and is rather widely distributed; it has been proved that there are several chronic carriers of bacilli among the native population. A few diphteria epidemics are mentioned, the course of which has been milder than would *a priori* have been expected. The five hitherto known epidemics of scarlet fever and one epidemic of mumps have also been relatively mild. No cases—absolutely certain—of measles are known.

There is now and again evidence of epidemics of the nature of plagues, often with a very considerable mortality (1784: number of deaths in the Godthaab District 363; 1812: number of deaths in the Ũmánaq District 149), but it is not possible to decide the real nature of these diseases.

As it will appear, most of the epidemic diseases known in Europe have been introduced into Greenland, having frequently caused great destruction among the native population, though on the other hand—in view of the problem whether it is justifiable to keep up the closing of the country—it should be borne in mind that the influence exercised by the epidemics on the total death rate during a longer period has been quite minimal. Only the yearly and, as it seems, inevitable bronchial and enteric catarrhs, in connection with the primitive hygienic conditions and the wide spread of tuberculosis play their undeniable part.

In fairness, attention should finally be drawn to the fact that only the first of the three small-pox epidemics was due to the communication resulting from the Danish colonization of Greenland, the other three being brought by foreign whaling ships, calling at one of the settlements. Several other of the epidemics, more particularly epidemics of whooping cough, typhus and diphteria, must also be ascribed to this cause, and thus in reality the isolation is broken through.

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MINING IN GREENLAND

BY

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Although Greenland cannot be said to be rich in valuable minerals, the myth sprang up during the early years of exploration that the country contained great quantities of precious metals and stones. About the year A. D. 1000 some sailors from Friesland are said to have gone ashore and seen "some miserable looking huts, hollowed out of the ground and all about these cabins heaps of iron ore, in which a quantity of gold and silver was shining; this tempted them to go and take some of it, and each took as much as he could carry away."

As late as in 1636 we hear of a skipper who was sent out by the Greenland Company with the object of bartering with the natives. He filled his vessels with sand, which he thought contained great quantities of gold; but when the sand was examined it proved to be quite valueless, and he was commanded to throw it into the sea.

After the actual colonization of Greenland people became less optimistic. This general scepticism was, however, not entirely shared by Hans Egede, who speaks of asbestos, coal, graphite and copper, whereas Cranz mentions the occurrence of garnets and mica.

Before the close of the 19th century a fairly accurate knowledge of the minerals of Greenland had been obtained. Here mention is only to be made of the work of Giesecke and Rink, and, from more recent years of the number of expeditions sent out to all parts of the country, principally under the auspices of the Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Investigations in Greenland (the Greenland Commission). As memorable years should be mentioned 1854, when the regular exploitation of cryolite began, and 1905 when a concession was granted to the Danish merchant Bernburg. This concession, covering graphite, copper, lead, asbestos and mica, soon passed into the hands of the "Grønlands Minedrifts Aktieselskab," which sent out a number of mining experts to various parts of the country.

Generally speaking, it must be said that the colonized part of Greenland is fairly well investigated, and there seems no reason to suppose that minerals of greater value than those already discovered will be found. There are

naturally many places, particularly in the inner reaches of the broader part of the coast land, which to the present day have not been visited by experts, but it should be borne in mind that the Greenlanders are rather keen of observation, and that they would surely have brought back samples from their travels if they had seen anything striking. Further, a good deal may also be concluded from the geological structure: the granite and gneiss formation prevailing in the greater part of the country does not, as a rule, contain mineral wealth to any extent, and the apparently unexplained presence of cryolite deposits in rocks of this kind must be considered rather the exception. As to the other ores, they are mainly associated with various crystalline schists, which in Greenland only occur in small quantities. Regarding the east coast, so little is known of the nature of the Pre-cambrian rock, that there is naturally a greater possibility of finding something new and valuable.

After this brief summary we will consider in detail the various ores and minerals, which either have been exploited or the exploitation of which has been attempted. In the first place mention should be made of the cryolite, the importance of which so far exceeds that of other minerals that practically 99 per cent of the total value of the mineral production of Greenland can be traced to this mineral. The importance of the cryolite production appears from the fact that the total royalty accruing to the Danish Government amounts to about 15 million kroner, of which about 2 million fall to the year of 1925 when the output was particularly great.

The *cryolite* which is a composition of aluminium, sodium and fluorine was already known about 1800, though at that time extremely rare, and it was not until Giesecke had visited the outcrop in 1806 that greater quantities reached Europe. However, it took several years before a method of exploiting the cryolite was found. In the year 1851—52 Julius Thomsen discovered that it could be used for the production of soda, and in 1854 regular mining was started. In the same year an English engineer, Taylor, began the working of a small vein or mass of argentiferous galene, which was, however, abandoned in the following year when the mine proved to be exhausted. The first cargo of cryolite was shipped from Greenland in 1856, and a few years afterwards a plant for the extraction of soda was erected in Copenhagen, later also in various other towns. In 1865 the Pennsylvania Salt Manufacturing Co. (Natrona, Pennsylvania) made a contract for two-thirds of all the cryolite produced, while the remainder went to Copenhagen, to the "Oresund" manufactory which had been erected in 1859. Until 1865 the working of the cryolite mines was carried on by various competing companies, but in that year the newly founded "Kryolith Mine- og Handelsselskabet" obtained a monopoly of the working of cryolite in Greenland, which concession has been renewed several times. The production during the period 1865—1925 appears from the following table:

Year	Total production
1854—64.....	12,037 tons
1865.....	6,087 -
1866.....	6,066 -
1867.....	7,611 -
1868.....	5,772 -
1869.....	6,981 -
1870.....	4,743 -
1871.....	6,471 -
1872.....	8,130 -

Year	Total production
1873.....	5,304 tons
1874.....	5,364 -
1875.....	7,614 -
1876.....	7,137 -
1877.....	6,744 -
1878.....	5,169 -
1879.....	5,559 -
1880.....	6,381 -
1881.....	8,049 -

Year	Shipped to America	Shipped to Europe
1882.....	3758	3049
1883.....	6508	1365
1884.....	7390	1417
1885.....	8275	1391
1886.....	8230	1447
1887.....	10238	1435
1888.....	7338	1405
1889.....	8603	113
1890.....	7129	727
1891.....	8298	1318
1892.....	7216	759
1893.....	9384	3074
1894.....	8916	2564
1895.....	9304	2531
1896.....	3028	1902
1897.....	10120	3078
1898.....	6150	2024
1899.....	5774	2015
1900.....	5299	3720
1901.....	5089	2945
1902.....	7164	2967
1903.....	6163	2995
1904.....	842	1395

Year	Shipped to America	Shipped to Europe
1905.....	1083	1443
1906.....	1198	3383
1907.....	1167	5182
1908.....	1046	4769
1909.....	1170	4669
1910.....	0	7376
1911.....	1670	10601
1912.....	1874	8041
1913.....	1964	8452
1914.....	4139	7373
1915.....	3752	5809
1916.....	3773	9669
1917.....	3960	5678
1918.....	1916	8201
1919.....	1973	4394
1920.....	5024	8903
1921.....	5200	6117
1922.....	3716	4975
1923.....	5243	13898
1924.....	6506	17285
1925.....	9390	22427
1926.....	7506	17329
1927.....	4977	14316

As it appears from the above, by far the greater part of the quantity of cryolite produced until 1903 went to America, whereas after that time the reverse has been the case. Further, the enormous increase of the production during later years should be noted.

The cryolite mine is very favourably situated on the south side of Arsuk Fiord, which forms a natural port where vessels may enter during the greater part of the year, and where they may come quite close to the shore. The surrounding rock is gneiss, cut up by numerous dikes of diabase, and only in the immediate vicinity of the cryolite has a special kind of rock developed, a granite porphyry enclosing the whole occurrence like a shell. In the west end of the mine there is a fairly large mass of pegmatite, consisting of quartz, feldspar, cryolite and siderite, besides smaller amounts of other minerals such as columbite, soda mica (ivigtite) zircon, molybdenite and others which, however, are not exploited. The cryolite forms an irregularly shaped, elongated body, the dimensions of which at the surface are about 150 m in length and up to 45 m in width, but becoming larger with depth, as the south wall dips inward below the granite, while the northern boundary is not known for certain. Only in a few places is granite met with, the side of the pit otherwise consisting of cryolite, which undoubtedly extends out under the fiord. The bottom of the pit is 57 m below sea level, but the exact depth to which the cryolite extends is not known; still, it is hardly to be supposed that it would exceed 100 m.

With the exception of some small bodies the cryolite is never quite pure; it generally contains a number of other minerals, *viz.* siderite, quartz and, to a lesser degree, zincblende, galena, chalcopyrite and pyrite. There are other masses containing various other fluor associations, particularly thomsenolite, fluorspar and cryolithionite, but none of these play any part in the further treatment of the cryolite. The total mass of these aggregates varies exceedingly, and whereas in former days impurities were removed by hand-sorting in the mine itself, this is not done to any large extent nowadays, with the greatly increased rate of production. As a rule the mass sent home contains 5—10 per cent of impurities.

During the greater part of the period of production cryolite has been mined in a large open cut; underground mining, in the proper sense of the word, has only been started recently. In former days the hole was filled with water in winter; the water was left to freeze, and on the ice thus formed the workers of the mine stood when stripping the walls of the half-loosened, decomposed flakes, which might otherwise fall down and cause disasters. Now the mine is kept open all the year round, but the winter staff is still largely occupied in cleaning the walls. Already at an early period the working of the mine on the south side extended below the granite, which thus came to stand with overhanging walls, while part of the mass of cryolite was retained as pillars to support the granite. The cryolite is generally blasted with black powder in order not to shatter the mass too much by applying stronger explosives; until quite recently loading on tip carts, sorting etc. was done by hand, but now plants have been erected for the transport of the ore from the pit and right on to the ship. Formerly, the cryolite was placed in

large, geometrical piles near the fiord, so as to facilitate the computation of the cubic contents of the ore shipped, from which the amount of royalty due was determined; now, however, this is computed by weight.

The number of workers employed in the mine is at present about 150 in summer and half as many in winter, the men being normally engaged for a period of eighteen months. Only picked men are employed for this very well

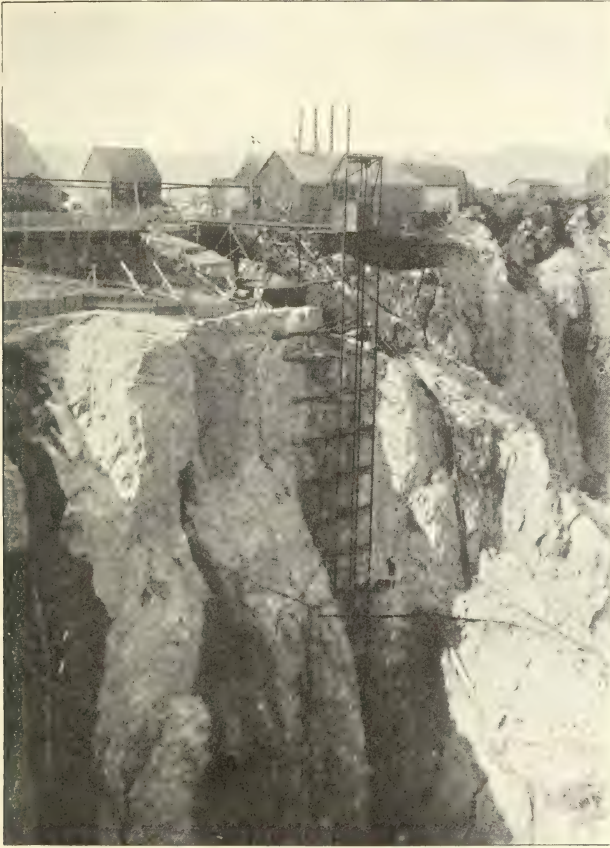


Fig. 1. The cryolite mine (A. C. Rasmussen).

paid job, the average wages being 7—8000 kroner a year, with free quarters and free journey from and back to Denmark. The workmen's quarters as well as the houses of the other employees of the mine and the working plants etc. make up a fairly considerable community, at any rate as compared with conditions in Greenland.

The encroaching minerals previously referred to necessitate a very careful refining process before the cryolite can be further utilized; particularly the "Oresund" has elaborated very thorough methods for the removal of the associated minerals, and in this respect it has served as a model for the erection of similar plants. It would carry us too far to enter into the details of this

extremely intricate process, and I shall therefore content myself with indicating the principles. Sorting is partly done by hand, the quite pure pieces being divided from those which contain other minerals, partly by machinery, the pieces which contain other minerals being separated into their individual constituents, which separation is in the main made possible by three qualities. Owing to their greater weight pyrites and galena are removed by washing, whereas the faintly magnetic minerals, siderite, chalcopyrite and the ferriferous zincblende can be separated by means of strong electromagnets. For the quartz the method employed is based upon the greater hardness of this mineral; when ground it appears in coarser grains than the cryolite and can then be separated by screening. The result is an extremely pure product, which is sent to the market, principally in a pulverized form. The above-mentioned minerals associated with the cryolite, most of which are rather valuable ores, are also exploited as such, being sent to the various smelting furnaces, after the impurities have been removed. Even the very small amount of silver contained in the galena and the still smaller gold content of the chalcopyrite are utilized.

As already mentioned, the cryolite was at first used for the production of soda, but with the fall in soda prices this industry languished until it was entirely abandoned, in Denmark in 1894, in America several years later. At an early period attempts were made to exploit the mineral for other purposes, but now it is chiefly used as a flux in the metallurgy of aluminum, as well as for the making of enamel ware and opaque glass.

A further discussion of the development of the cryolite industry would carry us too far, but it should be borne in mind that hardly any other trade has had so many difficulties—commercial as well as technical—to overcome, and that it would not have attained its present high level, if some of our best and ablest men had not thrown all their energy into the task. Besides Julius Thomsen mention must be made of C. F. Tietgen, Theobald Weber, G. A. Hagemann and Vilh. Jørgensen, and whatever the future of the cryolite industry, it will always stand as a monument of Danish enterprise and ability. Apart from the possibility of the mine becoming exhausted, the danger in the future is the ever increasing competition from artificial cryolite and various kinds of substitutes.

Of the five minerals covered by the Bernburg concession, lead is in so far irrelevant, as it has not been found in any quantity worth mentioning outside Ivigtut, which is naturally not included in the concession.

Asbestos occurs in many places and is also being used by the Greenlanders for lamp wicks. Bernburg made an attempt to mine this mineral, probably somewhere in the Holsteinsborg District, but it proved that the grade was not sufficiently high to make further mining pay; for that matter it may only have existed in small quantities.

This also applies to *mica*, of which Bernburg mined a fairly large amount

of the dark as well as of the light kind; the occurrence of mica is now entirely unknown, and this branch of mining never went beyond the experimental stage.

Copper has been found in small quantities in several places, this mineral being easily recognizable owing to the green malachite covering formed on the rocks. Except Ivigtût there are, however, only two places where it occurs in fairly large quantities, and where attempts have been made to operate the mines. Both of these occurrences are peculiar, as the ore contains very little of the common chalcopyrite; it consists in the main of an aggregate of bornite and chalcosite, which is all the more peculiar, as it cannot be a metamorphosis of an original chalcopyrite, the upper zone, where a process of this kind generally takes place, having for the greater part been removed by glacial erosion.

King Frederik VII's Mine. This mine, which is situated on a small island in the neighbourhood of Julianehaab, was found by a Greenlander about 1800, and it is important in so far as on account of this find Giesecke was sent to Greenland in 1806. The ore here occurs intergrown with quartz, being enclosed as irregular bodies in granite. In 1851 L. H. Lundt worked there for six months; he took out $15\frac{1}{2}$ tons of ore, after which the mine was almost exhausted, and later attempts made by the Bernburg expeditions did not lead to any result.

The Josva Copper Mine, which was discovered in 1852 by a Greenlander named Josva, is situated a little south of Ivigtût on a small and low, wind-swept peninsula, towards the open sea, where rain and fog are great obstacles to navigation. The surrounding rock is granite, containing many inclusions of crystalline schists produced by the metamorphosis of basic eruptives. The vein containing the greater part of the ore strikes from N. 36° E. to S 36° W. and dips S. E. 65° , parallel to the enclosing schists. It mostly consists of various crystalline schists, which are softer than the enclosing rocks, the vein hence weathering and becoming a depression. The ore itself occurs in more or less isolated lenses, arranged in a band immediately below the hanging wall; in the upper part of the mine this band was, on an average, 32 cm thick, in the lower part only 11 cm. In the same manner the amount of copper in the ore decreased greatly with the depth, so that in the lower part it only amounted to $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, whereas in the upper part it undoubtedly exceeded 4 per cent. It is possible that we are here confronted with the lower part of a preglacial zone of enrichment.

The copper vein is exposed for only 64 m across the small peninsula, but about 1 km south-west of it there is a continuation, the so-called Lilian Mine which is, however, of no importance. The surroundings of the vein are otherwise, in various ways, impregnated with copper: thus, in the chlorite schist there are nodules of different minerals, quartz, epidote, garnet and

others, which also contain a little hornite and small quantities of various other ores. Further there exist, a few kilometres to the west, pegmatite veins containing very small quantities of cupriferous minerals.

Immediately after its discovery this mine was visited by Rink, and together with Motzfeld he took out about 2 tons of ore. The very same year it was operated by the mining expert Friis who brought home a boat-load of ore, and in 1853 the engineer Robinson arrived with a party of miners. The result was about 20 tons of ore, and Robinson went home with it, while the miners under Friis spent an extremely severe winter in the mine, taking out about 30 tons more. In the following year the vessel which was to bring provisions and a new house for the workers was lost at sea; still, two miners were left there during the following winter, while another vessel which was to take home the ore broken, was lost quite close to the mine.

It is not to be wondered at that an enterprise attended by such extremely unfavourable circumstances was abandoned, all the more as the mine was supposed to be practically exhausted. However, expeditions sent out by Bernburg showed that this was not the case, and the mine was again operated from 1905—11, chiefly by Norwegian miners. An inclined shaft was sunk to a depth of 88 m, with drifts and cross cuts of a total length of 490 m, as well as 110 m of shafts and drifts in the adjacent crystalline schists. However, the results were too meagre to encourage further operations, which were, moreover, hampered by the extremely unfavourable situation and the difficulties caused by the war. The total production of pure copper amounted to about 90 tons.

The Josva copper ores contain a small amount of silver and a very small amount of gold, the Josva mine being the only place in Greenland where native gold is found.

In this context it should be mentioned that also native silver has been found in Greenland, *viz.* on Stor Island at Julianehaab, where the previously mentioned King Frederik VII's Mine is situated. The silver which occurs in the shape of small, regular crystal skeletons was found by Greenlanders about 1850 among the stones in front of a Greenland dwelling. Whether it is natural to that place, or whether it has been carried there from somewhere else by former inhabitants cannot be said for certain. The island was visited by several expeditions, both for the sake of the silver and the copper: Lundt went there in 1852 and Robinson in 1853, while two Norwegian miners lived there in 1854. However, only a very small amount was found, and since then the occurrence has been abandoned.

Graphite is very widely distributed in Greenland, and in small quantities it may be said to be practically omnipresent, while richer deposits are by no means rare, and there is hardly any doubt that this mineral, from a technical point of view, may be reckoned second in importance to cryolite. Most

of the graphite known belongs to the basic Pre-cambrian rock, in which it occurs in widely different associations, but there are also deposits produced by the metamorphosed coal strata at Nûgssuaq or carbonaceous schists, as is the case in the so-called Arsuk Island formation. The following is a short summary of the more important occurrences, in geographical succession.

In Lang Island near Upernivik, graphite occurs as irregular lenses in the pegmatitic enclosures in the granite, associated with garnet and cordierite. This graphite, as far as is known, is the purest in the country, the structure being coarsely lamellar. After having been known for some time to the Greenlanders, the occurrence in 1845 was visited by four ships, which took a number of samples, and later in the same year an Englishman called Davison took out more than 100 tons. Sutherland, who visited the place in 1850, mentions the considerable value of the graphite and the possibility of its proving a source of profit had not the Danish Government prohibited ships from fetching it. At this period, however, there can hardly have been much left of the whole occurrence; at any rate no subsequent attempt has been made to exploit it.

On the north side of Nûgssuaq Peninsula the coal layers in various places (Qaersut, Qaersuarssuk, Niaqornat) are penetrated by eruptive dikes, and by this means are generally metamorphosed to graphite, whereas, under similar conditions, the carbonaceous matter is generally changed into coke or anthracite. The thickness of the layers varies with the carbonaceous layers, obtaining up to $1\frac{1}{2}$ m but it is most frequently only $\frac{1}{2}$ m or less. The graphite is very finely grained, homogeneous and fairly pure, analyses from Qaersut having yielded a carbonaceous content of about 95 per cent. The metamorphosis into graphite is indicated as having taken place at a distance of about 5 m from the dike. In 1850 Lundt visited the occurrence at Qaersut and took out about 5 tons, 75 kg of which was sold in England for £ 90. In the following year the price of graphite, however, declined so much that no buyer could be found for the remainder, and moreover it was said, that the quality was rather poor. Since that time several attempts have been made to exploit the graphite from these occurrences, but without any result, though it has not been ascertained whether the quantity is too small for the regular working of the deposit, or whether the quality is not sufficiently good.

In the southern part of the Egedesminde District and in the Holsteinborg District there are a number of occurrences which seem to be considerable and are essentially of the same type. The graphite forms separate layers in the gneiss, which in these places contains a large amount of graphite; the thickness of the dikes may attain a few metres. The graphite is mostly amorphous, earthy and not particularly pure; it is indicated as containing quartz and mica and some pyrite which, near the surface, is metamorphosed to limonite. Owing to the weathering of the graphite it generally forms depressions. As

occurrences are mentioned Eqalugssuit and Nagssugtôq in the Egedesminde District, Súngoq, Utorqaq (Utorqat) at Amerdloq Fiord in the Holsteinsborg District: Suputôq a little to the north of this place and Nipisat Sound. The occurrences were examined, partly by Rink and partly by the Bernburg and later expeditions, and operations are said to have been attempted in various places, though no mining in the proper sense of the word has developed in any of them.

On Amitsoq Island in the Julianehaab District the engineer Ib Nyeboe, managing director of "Grønlands Minedrifts Aktieselskab" in 1911 discovered graphitic zones imbedded in the gneiss, one of which had a thickness of from 3.7 to 15 m. The ore itself must be classed as gneiss containing 20—24 per cent of graphite, and otherwise consisting of quartz with smaller quantities of mica and pyrite weathering to limonite, so that the deposits are easily traceable in the surface unless concealed under grassy depressions. The island is mountainous with steep sides, and consequently it was necessary to build the plants against a rather steep rocky wall. At the beginning open-cut mining was done, but later on an inclined shaft was started. The production of graphitic ore amounts to:

In 1914.....	300 tons
- 1915.....	2000 »
- 1916—17.....	0 »
- 1918.....	200 »
- 1919.....	200 »
- 1920.....	350 »
- 1921.....	1500 »
- 1922.....	600 »
- 1923.....	440 »
- 1924.....	350 »
- 1925.....	50 »

Coal occurs in large quantities over the whole of the basalt area of West Greenland, particularly on Disko and Nûgssuaq. Here under the basalt are huge layers of schists and sandstone from the Cretaceous and Tertiary periods, and between them the deposits of coal may occur. The layers are generally horizontal or faintly inclining, and may be penetrated by faults and sometimes also by basalt dikes. Sometimes there is only one layer in each place, sometimes as many as ten, in which case they are, however, thinner than usual, the average thickness being barely $\frac{1}{2}$ m, increasing to 3 m. Within the same layer the thickness does not keep constant, but frequently varies greatly, even on short distances. In many places (at least 70) the deposits reach as far as the shore, frequently in low levels, but at times as high as 600 m. Only a very small portion of these occurrences may be said to be accessible, and even then can only be navigated in fair weather,

as the coast offers no natural harbours, and is swept by currents, ice and storms. Therefore the coal, when taken out, is piled up near the shore, to be shipped when opportunity offers. The total amount of coal is undoubtedly very considerable.

The coal is for the greater part a lignite of mediocre grade, and in value far below Newcastle coal. It would hardly pay to work the Greenland coal for export, but it is used for heating purposes in the settlements and on the vessels navigating Greenland, sometimes, however, being intermixed with common coal. The Greenland coal has naturally been known from of old.



Fig. 2. Entrance to the coal-mine of Qaersuarssuk
(A. Bertelsen).

but the natives did not know how to utilize it, as the only fuel with which they were familiar was seal oil and turf. After the colonization of the country the coal was soon turned to account; some of it, however, consisted of carbonized trunks found along the shore, but it was also broken from the cliffs. From 1780—1832 coal to an amount of 4—600 tons a year was broken in seven different places, but when English coal became cheaper, the production of Greenland coal declined somewhat. In 1870 the yearly output was stated to have been 40—50 tons.

Until 1905 the working of the Greenland coal was carried on by private initiative, but in that year the Government opened the colonial mine, situated at Qaersuarssuk on the north side of Nûgssuaq, where there is a deposit of fairly good coal, the thickness of which averages $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. About ten men are employed in this mine, mostly Greenlanders, and no work is

done during the darkest winter months. The yearly production is about 2000 tons.

As the coal deposits at Qaersuarssuk were more or less exhausted, a new mine was opened at Qutdligssat on the northeast side of Disko, close to the old so-called Ritenbenk coal mine. The strata here are very nearly horizontal, being at a height of 30 m above sea level. The principal stratum consists of 2.5 m coal and shale, of which about 1.3 is pure coal; a horizontal shaft has been introduced into the deposit, and it is intended to put up vertical shafts from this vein for the purpose of working a smaller stratum situated at a higher level.

Of the minerals which might be exploited may be mentioned eudialite, which contributes the principal constituent of some nepheline-syenites at Kangerdluarssuk and the adjoining fiords of the Julianehaab District. The mineral contains zirconium, and if some means could be found of employing this on a larger scale, it would hardly be possible to procure it elsewhere in greater quantities. On two expeditions, in the years 1888 and 1899, K. J. V. Steenstrup collected about 60 tons of eudialytic rock for the Cryolite Company, with a view to its technical exploitation. However, nothing seems to have come of the experiments, at any rate, no further collection of this mineral has been made. In the same neighbourhood, considerable quantities of minerals occur which contain rare earth minerals, and again if a special use could be found for these, the region would undoubtedly have great prospects.

In this connection should further be mentioned the comparatively rare and valuable mineral molybdenite, which occurs in several localities in Greenland. It is known that the Bernburg expeditions had their attention directed towards it, but the amount everywhere proved too small to hold out promise of a profit.

Greenland has very little in the way of precious and semi-precious stones, practically everything known being of such poor grade that it cannot be put to any use. The best is hitherto a transparent garnet from the graphitic occurrence at Upernivik, which in former times was said to be collected and utilized. In a few localities rather fine marble has been found, but hardly in such quantities as to permit of export.

In conclusion a few remarks should be made of the use to which the Greenlanders put their mineral products. By far the most important of these is talc in the shape of crytocrystalline or finely grained steatite, which in former times was very largely used for cooking vessels, lamps etc. Material available for this purpose occurs in a number of places, and from the regions where there were such occurrences, long journeys were undertaken in order

to secure it. One cannot help admiring the skill with which the Greenlanders managed to separate large blocks from the rock and the workmanship of many of these articles. The old Norsemen used the mineral in a similar manner, and it is reported that they made vessels of it holding as much as 12 barrels. The use of asbestos for lamp wicks has already been mentioned. In places, where native iron occurs, either of meteoric or telluric origin, knives and other implements are made of it, while cryolite from the older times has been used to mix with snuff.

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APPENDIX I

THE AREA OF GREENLAND

Additions to the Geographical Situation of Greenland, vol. I, pp. 181—184.

BY

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The first fairly detailed map of Greenland was published in 1906 on the initiative of the Greenland Commission, scale: 1:2.000.000, and on this map Colonel H. Prytz made a planimetric measurement of the area of the country. As the map was prepared on the conform conical projection, it has been necessary to take into account that the scale of the map increases in a direction north—south. The result of the measurement was published in *Med. o. G.* XXXIII, and here the total area of Greenland is given as 2.143.200 km², of which the inland ice constitutes 1.848.400 km², the outer land and the coast islands 294.800 km². In the meantime the “Danmark” Expedition (1906—08) had greatly advanced our knowledge of the outline of Greenland, and it proved that North Greenland extends much farther towards the east than had hitherto been supposed. The Greenland Commission, consequently, published a new edition of the northerly of the four sheets of which the map consists, and this edition appeared in 1912. R. Hammer, Captain of the Danish Royal Navy, undertook a calculation of the area of the newly discovered stretches based on this map. In *Med. o. G.*, LX he gives the area of Greenland as 2.182.000 km², of which the inland ice occupies 1.869.000 km², the outer land and the coast islands 313.000 km².

Recent expeditions, however, and particularly the surveys undertaken by Lauge Koch have resulted in great modifications of the Greenland map. This applies to the coast line the course of which in various places has been corrected, but it has also proved that the inland ice, in several places, covers considerably smaller areas than was formerly supposed. It, therefore, seemed desirable, as a new map should be delineated for the present work, to combine this with a new measurement of the area, and with a view to future detailed measurements it also seemed desirable to have a map on an equivalent projection. Consequently, I have calculated a network in equivalent azimuthal projection for the map of Greenland, scale 1:4.000.000, and Mr. Petersen,

chief draughtsman of the Hydrographic Office, has inserted a map of Greenland into this network. The original was prepared to scale 1:3.200.000 and then transferred to millimeter paper, and on this diagram the measurement of the area was undertaken. The method employed permits of an accuracy which is greater than that of the actual survey of this country, the immense area and partial inaccessibility of which will always put obstacles in the way of detailed investigations in the field.

The most recent surveys have been made use of for this map, and a special debt of gratitude is due to Lauge Koch for permission to use his unpublished cartographic material from the north and east coasts. This is a considerable improvement in comparison with the maps hitherto available.

The area of Greenland, according to my calculation, is 2.175.600 km² which is 6400 km² less than Hammer's result. This difference must be mainly due to the lower degree of accuracy in the older maps. Thus the area of Peary Land, according to Colonel Prytz, is 41.100 km², while in my computation it only becomes 37.900 km². The distribution of the area on inland ice, outer land and coast islands and, for the two last mentioned, on a few natural sections, appears from the two tables adjoined. Both in the outer land and on the coast islands there are large local *névé* areas, and also in the extensive areas in the marginal zones of the inland ice (c: *nunataqs*) which are surrounded by glaciers, but which in summer become free from snow. The extent of these local *névés* and *nunataqs* is still so imperfectly known that it is not possible to give their total areas. They are included in the areas given respectively for the outer land, the islands and the inland ice.

When comparing table I and the figures formerly given it appears that the area of the inland ice is considerably less than was formerly supposed, as great stretches of North Greenland prove to lie outside its circumference. On the west coast my calculation of the areas of the outer land and the coast islands gives almost the same result as that of Colonel Prytz, but for the outer land of the east coast the disagreements are very great. For the outer land (including the coast islands) between lat. 60° and 65° N. the result arrived at by Colonel Prytz was 18.100 km² and between lat. 65° and 70° N. 14.000 km². The boundaries of my sections are not the same; but when I calculate the areas between the same points as those given by Colonel Prytz, the result I arrive at as regards the first stretch is 10.000 km² approximately and for the second 21.000 km² approximately. The map clearly shows that the outer land between lat. 65° and 70° N. is about twice that of the outer land between lat. 60° and 65° N. In the northern part of East Greenland as also in North Greenland recent researches have changed the map to such an extent that it could not be expected that there would be any agreement with the older calculation of the area.

TABLE I.

	km ²
Outer land.....	296.900
Coast islands.....	44.800
Inland ice.....	1.833.900
Greenland.....	2.175.600

TABLE II.

	Outer land. km ²	Coast islands. km ²
From Northeast Foreland to Humboldt Glacier.....	23.400	200
Pearry Land.....	37.900	900
From I. P. Koch Fiord to Humboldt Glacier.....	29.400	1500
From Humboldt Glacier to Melville Bay, lat. 76° N.	12.300	1100
North Greenland.....	103.000	3700
From Melville Bay, lat. 76° N. to Jacobshavn Icefiord	22.300	13100*)
From Jacobshavn Icefiord to Evigheds Fiord (Sukker- toppen).....	36.500	1800
From Evigheds Fiord to Lindenow Fiord.....	41.200	4200
West Greenland.....	100.000	19100
From Lindenow to Køge Bay.....	7.900	1300
From Køge Bay to Gaase Fiord (Scoresby Sound)...	22.100	1800
From Gaase Fiord to Bessel Fiord, lat. 76° N. (approx- imately)	43.600	16400**)
From Bessel Fiord to Northeast Foreland.....	20.300	2500
East Greenland.....	93,900	22000

*) Disko: 7400 km².**) King Oscar Archipelago: 8200 km².

APPENDIX II

THE POPULATION OF GREENLAND AT 31. DECEMBER 1927 *)

	Europeans	Greenlanders	
		Men	Women
Julianehaab	26	1.613	1.905
Frederikshaab	5	455	526
Godthaab	37	605	671
Sukkertoppen	17	632	731
Holsteinsborg	7	443	433
Egedesminde	14	793	853
Christianshaab	2	291	308
Jacobshavn	19	301	352
Ritenbenk	8	345	334
Godhavn	21	188	212
Ũmánaq	19	691	715
Upernivik	16	559	593
Thule	—	143	141
Angmagssalik	9	333	363
Scoresby Sound	4	51	54
Cryolite Mine Ivigtût	125	—	—
Greenland . . .	329	7.443	8.191

*) Kindly communicated by the Government for Greenland.

APPENDIX III

ADDITIONS TO "THE GEOLOGY OF GREENLAND"

vol. I. pp. 231—255.

BY

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After this article was written, two expeditions have carried on investigations in East Greenland, one in the year 1926, under the leadership of Mr. Wordie, and another in the years 1926 to 1927, under the leadership of Lauge Koch, with Dr. T. M. Harris and A. Rosenkrantz as members. By means of these expeditions our knowledge of the geology of East Greenland has been very much extended. Their results are, however, not yet worked up, and only preliminary reports are at hand, particularly one by Lauge Koch in "Ymer" for 1928. Here some of most important results will be given in the form of additions to the said article in vol. I; and, further, it must be borne in mind that also the two maps of Greenland (figs. 4 and 5) must be made subject to very considerable corrections.

Algonkian (p. 234). In the inner parts of King Oscar Fiord and Franz Joseph Fiord a series of sediments of about 2000 m have been found, consisting of red sandstone, conglomerates, schists, limestone and dolomites, with intermediary layers of Cryptozoon limestone.

The Cape Leslie Sandstone (p. 238); here many Jurassic and Cretaceous fossils have been found, especially of the Portlandian age.

Cambrian-Silurian (p. 241). The total thickness is at least 1200 m; the sequence of strata begins with a stratum from Lower Cambrian with brachiopods; then follows a dark sandstone, also from Lower Cambrian, with trilobites, and from the Middle Ozarkian there is also a rich trilobite fauna. Higher up there is a fauna with badly preserved cephalopods and corals. The strata have been subject to a very strong folding in the Caledonian period, and this folding chain has, with more or less certainty, been identified in a strike north—south throughout the whole of East Greenland.

Devonian (p. 241). The sequence begins with conglomerates with grey sandstones, superimposed by a thick red sandstone.

Carboniferous (p. 242). This formation which is hitherto only known from the very northernmost parts, is rather widely distributed in the same regions as the Devonian. Above the red sandstone already mentioned there is first a freshwater deposit which contains a great wealth of bivalves etc., then conglomerate and limestone with a rich Lower Carboniferous fauna; from the Middle Carboniferous there is sandstone with remains of plants, and on the top limestone with large quantities of brachiopods and corals.

In the transition areas between Carboniferous and Permian, great dislocations and volcanic eruptions have been identified.

Permian. This formation which up to the present has not been known to occur in Greenland, is developed as sandstone with a fauna which is very rich in individual specimens.

Triassic (p. 242). In the region south of Clavering Island marine deposits from the Middle Triassic have been found. Very considerable collections have been made in the Rhaetic flora from Cape Stewart.

Jurassic (p. 243). In the northern area this formation (possibly also Neocomian) has been found in several new localities; the strata on Jameson Land have been made subject to a particularly thorough investigation, and it has been proved to occur in no less than 22 zones. Among these, special attention should be paid to two strata, very rich in fossils, from the Middle and Upper Liassic, which until now have not been known to occur in the country.

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ETYMOLOGICAL GLOSSARY

By H. OSTERMANN.

- Agdluitsoq, the place which lacks seal blow-holes (the fiord ice during winter).
- Agdlumersat, the place where repeated divings are made below the water.
- Agpalilik, the place where there are Brännich's guillemots.
- Agpamiut, the inhabitants of the place where there are Brännich's guillemots, or bird cliffs where the Brännich's guillemots brood.
- Agpat, the Brännich guillemots i. e. a place which is full of Brännich's guillemots, or where there is a bird cliff with Brännich guillemots.
- Agpatsiait, the place where there is rather a large number of Brännich's guillemots.
- Agssakâq, that which has been turned upside down.
- Agto, the place of contact i. e. the place where the vessels (umiaks and kajaks) come nearest to the shore on their journeys along the coast — or "strike against" the country (the explanation of the Greenlanders).
- Akia, the side just opposite (i. e. of a sound, a fiord, a dwelling place).
- Akiliaruseq, the intermediate part, country, i. e. a strip of land (peninsula or the like) extending on to a water (sound or fiord) between its two coasts, or a spur from the mountains into the level land (also used about the bridge of the nose).
- Akorninarmiut, the inhabitants of an interjacent stretch (between two headlands, two bays or the like).
- Akorningnap Kangerdlua, the bay or fiord which cuts into an interjacent stretch (between two indicated points).
- Akugdliit, the midmost (for instance of islands, or in the case of human beings, those who live midway between inhabited places).
- Akuliaruseq or Akiliaruseq (*u* is the prevailing vowel in the central part of inhabited West Greenland, whereas *i* prevails from Godthaab towards the south in the Upernivik District and on the east coast).
- Akuliaruserssuaq, the large interjacent tract between two indicated points.
- Akúnâq, the intermediary station (used for instance about dwelling-places lying almost midway between two others and forming a natural midway station, for instance on journeys).
- Akúnârmiut, the inhabitants of a place which forms a natural "intermediary station" between other localities.
- Alángordlia, the place which lies most in the shade (*viz.* of a mountain or on the north side of something).
- Alángorssuaq, the large shady side (below mountains or on the north side of an island, a headland or the like).
- Aluk, either the sole *viz.* the lowest or outermost part of the country, or the place where people lick (there are legends of such places where people always must make a halt and lick a stone or the like).
- Amagâq, something which is being carried on the back (as a child in the hood of a fur jacket).
- In East Greenland it is said that the word may mean: a heart i. e. something of the shape of a heart or resembling a heart, cf. *Umánaq*.
- Ameragdla, the part of it where there is ample covering (?), cf. the following.
- Ameralik, the place which is provided with (i. e. where there is) a covering; the word *ameraq* means colour, paint, bark; it is also used about the skin covering on reindeer antlers.
- Amerdloq, the narrower of two (sounds or courses between islands, interspaces between mountains and the like).
- Amitsoq, the narrow (used both of land and water).
- Amitsuarssuk, the small narrow or the characteristic, very marked narrowing (used of islands, headlands, sounds and the like).
- Angmagssalik, the place where there is *angmagssat* i. e. caplin and where people therefore assemble during the summer season, in order to "scoop" and dry them on the rocks.
- Angmagssalingmiut, the inhabitants of the Angmagssalik District.
- Anoritôq, the windy *viz.* the place where there is always a strong wind (off the shore).

- Aputaitsoq, the place where the snow never vanishes, i. e. the eternally snow-covered.
- Aputitêq or Aputitôq, abounding in snow, i. e. the place where there is always much snow, which remains throughout the winter.
- Arfersiorfik, the place where large whales (Arctic right whales) are, or at one time have been hunted.
- Arfertuarssuk, the place where there always are or were large whales.
- Arpik, same as Arfeq, the Arctic right whale; the place where there are Arctic right whales, or where they are caught.
- Arstuk, the place which one is fond of (because of its beauty or because hunting conditions are good).
- Asungmiut, the inhabitants of the place where there is a peculiarly shaped stone (?).
- Asissut, the isolated or remote (far out lying) islands or dwelling places.
- Atane, *casus locativus* of Atâ, i. e. at or on its (the country's or the mountain tract's) lower part: on the lower land or the foreland.
- Ataneq, the cohesion, i. e. the connection between different parts (countries or waters).
- Atangmik, that which hangs together i. e., the piece of land which is connected with the remaining country, by means of a narrow connection.
- Atanikerdluk, the narrow-necked, i. e. a piece of land which is connected with the remaining country by means of narrow and low connections or "necks".
- Aulatsivik, the place where something is moved up and down, for instance when fishing with a jig; the jigging place.
- Ausiait, the spiders (which live in cavities in the ground and do not spin webs), i. e. the place where there are (or were) such spiders.
- Avangnardlit, the most northerly (islands or inhabitants of a locality or region, or in relation to another dwelling-place).
- Avarqat, the small outer parts (islands or forelands facing the open sea (?)).
- Avigait, the (almost) divided, i. e. islands which are only continuous at low water.
- Episak, probably the same as ipisak, i. e. the place where one gets sensations of choking (?).
- Egalugialik, the place where people assemble to go salmon or trout fishing.
- Egalugssuit, the sharks, i. e. the place where there are many sharks, the shark fishing grounds.
- Egaluit, the salmon or the trout, i. e. the place where there is an abundance of salmon or trout; the salmon fishing grounds.
- Igaliko, the place where there are remains of former cooking places (stones placed on edge between which the fire burns and on which the cooking vessel rests).
- Igalilik, the place where there are cooking places which are still in use.
- Igdlerfigssalik, the place (i. e. the rock) which has a stone formation on its top resembling a coffin; the Danish name is "Kistefjeldet" (i. e. the coffin rock).
- Igdlorpait, the number of houses, i. e. the place where there are (or were) many houses.
- Igdlorssuatsiaq, the rather large house, i. e. the place where there is (or was) a house, distinguished by its size from the ordinary ones.
- Igdlorssuit, the large or the many houses, i. e. the place where there are (or were) particularly large or particularly many houses.
- Igdlorujuk, the mean house, the hut, i. e. the place which is (or was) distinguished by small and poor houses.
- Igdluerûnerit, that which is deprived of its houses i. e. the place where at one time there were houses, which have now disappeared.
- Igdlukasik, the wretched hut, i. e. the place which is or was distinguished by miserable houses.
- Igdluglissuag, the place which is well covered by houses (or house sites).
- Igdluarssuit, the place where there are or at one time were many huts.
- Igdluarssuk, the small dwelling-place with the mean houses (or huts).
- Igdlotsiaq, the place where there are or at one time were rather many houses.
- Iginiarfik, the gun shooting grounds, i. e. the place ashore where the providers lay in wait in order to shoot the marine animals with a rifle.
- Ikamiut, the population of the place which lies there in a northerly direction to us (?).
- Ikâtoq, the place outside which there is shallow water; the Danish name is "Grundene" (i. e. the shallows).
- Îkâtaq, same as Ikateq (the relation between *o* and *e* is the same as between *u* and *i*, cf. Akuliaruseq and Akiliaruseq).
- Ikeq, the broad water (between islands or countries); the "broadening".
- Ikerasak, the sound or the course between two pieces of land.
- Ikerasagssuag, the great sound (may apply both to width and length).
- Ikerasarssuag, the uncommonly long sound.
- Ikerasanssaq, something which resembles or suggests a sound (for instance, a short and broad course between islands); a sudden narrowing of a broader water or the like.
- Ikerasik, the same as Ikorasak, i. e. the sound.

- Ikerasunguaq, the small (narrow and short) sound or the dwelling-place situated at such a sound.
- Ikerssuaq, the large broadening; the word is, for instance, used about Disko Bay.
- Ikertôq, the water of ample width; the Danish name is "Bredefjord" (i. e. the wide fiord).
- Ikigart, the place where fires are frequently lighted (?). It probably applies to halts on journeys and hunting expeditions.
- Ikorfat, the props, the foundations, i. e. the place which because of its rock formations looks as if it were placed on props or raised by means of under-layers.
- Ilímanssaq, the place resembling the peg on the harpoon blade which serves as a support for the detachable harpoon head.
- Ilivileq, same as Iluileq.
- Ilua, the inner part of it, i. e. the place which is situated nearest the interior in a very narrow creek with steep surroundings.
- Iluialik, the place where there is abundance of tumbled down or broken-off ice floes and icebergs on the glacier.
- Iluileq, the place where there are many graves from the olden times.
- Iluilárssuk, the place where there are a great many graves from the olden times.
- Imaersartoq, the place where the water is in the habit of being emptied; the lake which runs dry.
- Imermiut, the inhabitants of the place where there is fresh water.
- Ingnerit, the fires i. e. the place where there is a fire or perhaps where a fire is lighted.
- Inigssalik, the place where there are good places to settle in.
- Inugsulik, the place which is provided with a cairn (or cairns).
- Inugssuarimiut, the population of the dwelling-place where there are or have been many people.
- Isa, the place where eiderfowl live during the moulting period.
- Isaroq, the place which resembles the wing of a bird.
- Isordlerssuaq, the great one which lies (farthest) inland.
- Isortoq, the muddy, i. e. the place where the water is always thick or muddy. The name used by the old Norsemen, Leirufiödr (i. e. the clayey fiord) corresponds entirely with it.
- Isua, its terminal point, i. e. the place which is situated on a headland.
- Itivdleq, the lowest, the shallowest, i. e. the place where one crosses (carrying the umiak and the kayaks) from one water to another.
- Itivdlíarsuk, the small crossing (between two fiords or lakes).
- Itivneq, the low, i. e. a depression between two mountain tracts, or the dwelling-place situated in such a place.
- Itivnera, the depression on it, i. e. the place which has a depression in the middle.
- Iviangernat, the twin mountains resembling the breasts of a woman.
- Iviangiussat, the mountain whose peaks resemble the breasts of a woman.
- Ivigtût, the grassy, i. e. the place where there is abundance of thick and high grass.
- Ivnalik, the place where the mountain becomes strikingly steeper.
- Ivnalinguaq, the place where the mountain becomes slightly steeper.
- Ivnárssukasik, the place in the mountain which has a slight and inconspicuous rising.
- Ivssugissoq, the place which has good peat for fuel (and where it is fetched).
- Kagdlorfik, the place where sea fowl are hunted with a seal vertebra, tied to a harpoon shaft with a long string.
- Kangâmiut, the inhabitants of the projecting part of the country; "the people of the headland".
- Kangârssuk, the small (or peculiarly shaped) projection. The old Danish name "Hukken" means exactly the same thing.
- Kangâtsiaq, the rather small projecting part of the country; the naze.
- Kangeq, the promontory; the headland or the dwelling-place situated there.
- Kangerajuk, the place which has several projections, i. e. a headland or promontory with several corners.
- Kangerdluarssugssuaq, the large incision of the sea, the great fiord.
- Kangerdluarssuk, the incision or the fiord.
- Kangerdluarssúnguaq, the small fiord or incision of the sea.
- Kangerdluatsiaq, the fine incision, i. e. the bay which has rather a good shape.
- Kangerdlugssuaq, the large fiord or sea bay.
- Kangerdlugssuatsiaq, the rather large fiord or sea bay.
- Kangerdluk, the incision of the sea, i. e. the bay or the fiord.
- Kangerdluluk, the small or inconspicuous incision (bay or fiord).
- Kangersuneq, the fiord or bay which has many projections (headlands or promontories).
- Kangerujuk, the poor (i. e. small and inconspicuous) headland or promontory.
- Kangikitsoq, the place which is provided with a small headland or promontory.
- Karrat, the extreme end of something, i. e. the "tail end" of the country; the headland of the outermost island in a group

- of out-lying islands; the outermost of the icebergs on an iceberg bank or the like.
- Kialineq, the place where it gets very hot (probably because it is situated in such a manner that the sun is capable of displaying its full force).
- Kialuneq, same as Kialineq.
- Kilikitaq, that which (looks as if it) is cut off.
- Kingigtit, same as Kingigtut, the plural of the following.
- Kingigtoq, the steeply rising projection on the country; the steep, outstanding naze or foreland.
- Kingigtorsuaq, the large, steep or towering naze or foreland.
- Kipisarqo, same as Qipisarqo.
- Kitdlavât, the incisions (in the edge or border of something), i. e. the dentate peaks; the mountain crests; the Danish name of the place is "Redekammen" (i. e. the comb).
- Kitdlavait, same as Kitdlavât.
- Kitsigorsruit, the large ones which lie far out to sea towards the west; used as a name of islands.
- Kitsigsut, those that lie far out at sea towards the west; used as a name of islands.
- Kôroq, groove or furrow in something; the valley; also used as a name of fiords.
- Kuânersôq, the place which has abundance of quans (*angelica officinalis*).
- Kuaniartiwin, the place where there are quans.
- Kûgânguaq, the place which is intersected by small water courses, which flow evenly and quietly through level country.
- Kûgssuaq, the large water course; the great river.
- Kûk, the water course; the brook; the river.
- Kulusuk, same as Qulusuk.
- Kûnait, same as Kûngnait.
- Kûngme, *casus locativus* of Kûk, i. e. at the water course, the brook or the river.
- Kûngnait, that which is amply provided with river courses down the sides; the mountain abounding in rivers.
- Majorqaq, the place where there is an ascent; a defile.
- Majorqarssuatsiaq, the rather large (and difficult) place of ascent to the mountain crossing.
- Malemuk, the fulmar (*Fulmarus glacialis*), i. e. the place where there are many such birds, or a birds' cliff where they have their nests.
- Malerualik, the place where there is rather a rough sea (?).
- Maligîaq, the place where there is a strong swell (?).
- Manermiut, the inhabitants of a place where there is moss of the kind used for wicks in the old Greenland blubber lamps.
- Manîtsq, the uneven, i. e. the place where the rock formations are wild and hummocky.
- Mannik, i. e. maneq, lampmoss (for the wicks of blubber lamps).
- Marraq, the clay, i. e. the place where the moraine clay crops out and appears yellow or tawny at a long distance.
- Mernoq, the place where one is apt to become faint and powerless, and cannot go on. The word thus refers to the poor or greatly varying hunting conditions of the region.
- Mitdlôrfik, the place where one throws stones (after ptarmigan or the like).
- Mitimatalik, probably the place where birds are always sitting.
- Misugtoq, that which dips (perhaps because it is reflected in the water which is nearly always smooth in that place).
- Nagssugtôq, the place where there is an abundance of reindeer antlers (which are shed).
- Nalûmassortq, the pharalope, i. e. a mountain which at a distance resembles a pharalope.
- Naniseq, that which has been found (perhaps on a voyage of discovery?).
- Nanortalik, that which is provided with appertaining polar bears, i. e. the haunt of polar bears.
- Nanûseq, same as Naniseq.
- Napassoq, the upright, i. e. the place where the rock-formations rise straight up from the foreland or the coastline.
- Napassorsuaq, the great upright, i. e. the fiord, the coasts of which rise straight out of the water.
- Narssalik, that which is provided with plains, i. e. the place which lies on an extensive tract of plains.
- Narssamiut, the inhabitants of a place situated on an extensive tract of plains.
- Narssaq, the place which is situated on an even and level stretch of land; the "plain".
- Narssârssuk, the small tract of plains.
- Nasaussaq, the place (i. e. the mountain) which resembles a hat or a hood.
- Natdla, the place where one lies down or the place which lies down.
- Natsilik, the place which is provided with fiord seals; the sealing ground.
- Naujan, the gulls, i. e. the place where there are many gulls or where there is a gull cliff.
- Naujânguit, the small gulls, i. e. the place where there is a number of gulls or where there is a small gull cliff.
- Naujatalik, that which is provided with gulls, i. e. the place where there are gull cliffs.

- Nepisat, same as Nipisat.
- Nepisene, *casus locativus* of Nepisat, i. e. the lump-sucker (fishing) ground or grounds.
- Neqe, the repast, i. e. the place where there is (always) meat, the name thus indicating a particularly good hunting ground.
- Nettiling, same as Natsilik.
- Niaqornårssuk, the small one resembling a head, i. e. a locality marked by a rock-formation suggesting a head. Very frequently occurring place-name everywhere in Greenland.
- Niaqornat, those resembling heads, i. e. the place marked by rock formations of the shape of heads.
- Niaqúngunag, the place where one is apt to have a pain in one's head (probably because the fiord is narrow and surrounded by high mountains, and thus becomes warm and close in summer).
- Niaqússat, the likenesses of heads, i. e. the place with rock formations reminding one of heads.
- Nigerdlít, those situated farthest out towards the southwest wind (islands or inhabitants of a tract).
- Nipisat, the lump-suckers, i. e. the place where there are lumpsuckers, or where lump-suckers are caught.
- Nisa, the porpoise (*phocaena communis*), i. e. the place where there are (or were) porpoises or where porpoises are hunted.
- Nivâq, probably the narrowing, i. e. the narrowest part of the sound, where there is consequently a very strong current.
- Niviarsiat, the maidens, i. e. the place where there has at one time been maidens, or which by its shape suggests such (for instance mountain formations of the shape of hair knots).
- Nome, i. e. Nûngme, *casus locativus* of Nûk.
- Norssaerserfik, the place where one loses one's throwing board or where this has happened on a particular occasion.
- Nûâlik, probably the same as Nûgâlik, i. e. the place which has a small projecting headland.
- Nûgâq, the projecting headland, or the place (the dwelling-place) situated on such a headland.
- Nûgârssuk, the small (not greatly marked) projecting headland.
- Nûgssuaq, the great (high, long and greatly marked) headland; the large peninsula.
- Nûk, the headland or the peninsula.
- Nukagpiaq, the youth.
- Nukagpiarssuaq, the great bachelor.
- Nukarbik, the place where one is apt to get spoiled or dulled (?). Probably refers to good and constant hunting conditions.
- Nukarfik, same as Nukarbik.
- Nukarít, those who have each other as brothers (and sisters); the Danish name is "Brødrene" (i. e. the brothers).
- Nûluk, the poor (i. e. small and inconspicuous) headland.
- Nunap Isua, the end of the country; the headland or the extreme part of the country or tract of country.
- Nunap Kigdlinga, the border of the country, i. e. the place or tract where the ice-free country ceases, and the glacier or the inland ice begins.
- Nunarssuit, the large countries or the large tract of country.
- Nunasarneq, the land wind, i. e. the place where a constant wind is blowing from off the shore.
- Nunataq, a tract of appertaining country. Used about stretches of land, which rise above the inland ice, as a rule at or near the edge of the latter.
- Nunatarssuaq, the large appertaining country.
- Omertlak, same as umerdlak, i. e. the immense tent curtain.
- Oqaitsoq, the tongueless *viz.* the cormorant i. e. the place where there are (or were) cormorants or a cormorant cliff.
- Orpigssuit, the large shrub, i. e. the place which is thickly covered with shrubs.
- Orpik, the tree or shrub, i. e. the place where there is a good many trees and shrubs.
- Orqordlít, those which are most sheltered; the innermost on the leese of (of a mountain tract, a fiord or the like).
- Orssuluviag, the place with the poor fellspar.
- Pamiagdruk, the poor (small or short) tail, i. e. the place situated on a stretch of land which reminds of such a tail.
- Pâmiut, the inhabitants of the mouth, i. e. of a bay, a fiord or the like.
- Patoot, same as Pâtût.
- Pâtût, the place where there are broad mouths (of the watercourses, coming down from the high mountains behind).
- Perutussut, the place where there is abundance of stones of the size which can be used to load the "trail" of the tent skins.
- Pikiutdleq, the submerged, i. e. the place (island, headland) which is low and at highwater is apt to be washed over in a gale (?).
- Pingo, the gull's hummock; grass-covered hummock, which owes its existence to the soil being manured by gulls' excrements.
- Pingut, the place where there are many pingo.
- Pisigsarfik, the place where people shoot (or at one time have shot) with a bow.

Pisugfik, the walking place, i. e. the place where travellers passing by go ashore to stretch their legs (?).
 Pitoraivik, the place where there are strong gusts of wind.
 Pituvfik, the place where it is possible to make something fast (a vessel).
 Puissortog, the diving up place, i. e. where the masses of ice which have fallen down and shoot out on the glacier emerge (like a marine animal).
 Putulik, the place in the mountain which is provided with a hole (or holes).
 Qaersuarssuk, the small and naked tract of rocks.
 Qaersorssuaq, the immense naked tract of rocks, the "large rock".
 Qaersut, the cliffs, i. e. the place lying between extensive, naked rounded cliffs.
 Qagdumiut, the inhabitants of the "eyebrow country". The word qagdlo means eyebrow, but may also be used of a cauldron enclosing a lake, which thus forms the "eye".
 Qagssiarssuk, the place which lies in a small cauldron or a bay, surrounded by rocks and with a narrow mouth.
 Qagssimiut, the inhabitants of the place which is situated at a small bay, surrounded by rocks and with a narrow mouth.
 Qagssinguit, the small place at the narrow-mouthed bay, surrounded by high rocks.
 Qalerajueq, the naked, vaulted or cupola-shaped.
 Qanertôq, the large-mouthed, i. e. the place (the island) with the large incision, reminding one of a mouth.
 Qapiarfigssalik, the place which is provided with something which can be used for skin scrapers.
 Qâqaligaitsiaq, the place (the island) which is provided with a rather insignificant mountain tract.
 Qâqatoq, the old mountain.
 Qaqatsiaq, the rather impressive mountain or mountain tract.
 Qaqortoq, the white one, i. e. the place in the surroundings of which the white colour prevails.
 Qaqq, the white, foaming (water, where there is a strong current).
 Qarajak, the roundish bay surrounded by high rocks.
 Qarajaq, same as the preceding.
 Qarmat, the walls, i. e. the place, the surroundings of which slope rather steeply upwards, reminding one of walls.
 Qârusuk, the cave, i. e. the place in the neighbourhood of which there is a cave in the rock.
 Qârusuerneq, that which is deprived of the cave or caves, i. e. the place (the moun-

tain) where there have at one time been caves, which have now collapsed.
 Qasingartôq, the much faded.
 Qasingertôq, same as the preceding.
 Qeqertaq, the island or (dwelling) place situated on an island.
 Qeqertarssuaq, the large island; especially used about Disko Island.
 Qeqertarssuatsiaq, the rather large island or (dwelling) place situated on such an island.
 Qeqertasugssuk, the medium-sized or comparatively large or impressive island.
 Qeqertaussoq, the tract of land, resembling an island; the peninsula.
 Qernertoq, the black one, i. e. the (dwelling) place marked by dark lines in the mountains behind them.
 Qerrortussoq, the place where there are heaps of stones at the foot of the mountains and along their slopes.
 Qilalukan, i. e. qilalugkat, the place or the tract where there are many white whales, the white whale hunting grounds.
 Qilângait, the puffins, i. e. the place (bay, islands) where there are many puffins or a cliff where puffins brood.
 Qilaussarfik, the place where the Shaman's drum is beaten.
 Qilertinguaq, the small hair knot, i. e. the rock which resembles the native hair dressing of a woman.
 Qingoq, the nose, i. e. the place the shape of which resembles a nose. The most commonly used name for peaks everywhere in Greenland.
 Qingorssuog, the large fiord head, i. e. the fiord the innermost creek of which is uncommonly deep.
 Qingua, its (i. e. the fiord's, bay's, valley's) innermost narrow part.
 Qioqe, the place where one is apt to feel cold, i. e. which is bare and offers no shelter.
 Qipisargo, the crooked or winding, i. e. the sound which bends and winds.
 Qiterdleg, the midmost (part of a fiord, peak in a mountain range, one among a number of dwelling-places, house in a dwelling-place and the like).
 Qivdlaq, the bright, shining, i. e. the place where there is mica.
 Qordlortoq, the waterfall or the place (mountain or mountain tract) which is marked by a waterfall.
 Qôrnaq, the narrowing; narrow sound between two mountain tracts.
 Qugdligissat, the worms, i. e. the place where there are worms.
 Qugssuk, the worm, i. e. the place (fiord, bay, lake) where there are worms.
 Qulusuk, the back of a bird, i. e. the place (the rock) which resembles the back of a bird.
 Qutdlersuit, the great lamps, i. e. the

- place where the material for the making of lamps is found and fetched.
- Qutdligssat, something which can be made into lamps, i. e. the place where there is material for the making of lamps.
- Sagdlermiut, the inhabitants of the country lying in front (of an island, a peninsula or a foreland).
- Sagdliaruseq, the less impressive (foreland under, or ledge on a rock) lying in front.
- Sagdlit, the foremost (islands in front of a country or in a group of islands) or those lying in front.
- Sánerut, the cross-piece, cross-rod, i. e. island or peninsula or tract of land of an elongated shape which lies crosswise of its surroundings. Rather frequently occurring place-name everywhere in Greenland.
- Sangmissoq, that which faces the spectator, i. e. the place which is visible from whichever side it is approached.
- Sárdleq, the extreme front or the outermost (island or headland) lying in front.
- Sárdloq, the bald (?) i. e., probably because the place is situated on a low, level and bare foreland.
- Sarfalik, that which is provided with a current, i. e. the place outside or near which there is a strong current.
- Sarfánguaq, the small place of currents. The name is used about places lying at narrow sounds, where there is a current.
- Sarfaq, the place of currents, i. e. the place where or past which there is a constant current.
- Sarfarsuit, the great currents or places of currents, i. e. the place past which or the sound in which there is always a strong current.
- Sarqaq, the sunny side, i. e. the place which lies on the south side of the country and is exposed to the sun all day long.
- Sarqardleq, that which lies farthest out or farthest to the front on the sunny side, i. e. faces south.
- Sarqardlit, plural of preceding.
- Satsigssuaránguit, the group of small projecting islands (farthest towards the sea).
- Savssat, those which have been moved far out. Place-name of groups of islands which are situated farthest out from the shore.
- Semiseq, probably same as simiseq, that which has had a stopper put into it, i. e. the fiord, bay or sound which is almost closed by islands.
- Sermiliarsok, same as Sermiliarsuk.
- Sermeq Kujatdleq, the southernmost glacier (branch of the inland ice) or local glacier.
- Sermermiut, the inhabitants of the glacier dwelling-place, i. e. the place in the neighbourhood of the inland ice.
- Sermersôq, that which is abundantly provided with glaciers (island).
- Sermiarsuk, the glacier or branch of a glacier not particularly conspicuous.
- Sermiliarsuk, same as Sermiligárssuk.
- Sermiligâq, that (a fiord) which is provided with several glaciers (branches of the inland ice).
- Sermiligárssuk, the inconspicuous (fiord) which is provided with several glaciers.
- Sermilik, that which is provided with glaciers. Frequently occurring name of fiords everywhere in Greenland; sometimes also used of inhabited places with such fiords.
- Sermitsialik, the (fiord or bay) provided with a rather large glacier.
- Sermitsiaq, the rather large glacier or local glacier, or the place situated near such a glacier.
- Sigssardlugtoq, the place or tract which has a bad (i. e. steep and inaccessible) shore.
- Simiutaq, the pertaining stopper. Name of islands which are situated at the outlet of a fiord and more or less fill up its mouth.
- Sioraq, the sands, i. e. the stretch of sand or sandy plain.
- Sitdlisit, the grinding stones, i. e. the place where there are stones of the kind used for the sharpening of tools.
- Sorqat, baleens, i. e. the place (the mountain, glacier) which by its formation suggests the mouth of a baleen-whale.
- Suikagssuaq, the large, compact, and massive (mountain).
- Sulugssugut, the dorsal fin of a fish, i. e. the place which by its formation reminds of this. The Danish name is "Finnefjeldet" (i. e. the fin mountain).
- Sulugssugutâ, the dorsal fin on it, i. e. the peak on it (the mountain) which suggests a dorsal fin.
- Súngoq, the swollen, i. e. the place which stands out like a bump against the surrounding country.
- Suputôq, the place where there are frequent gusts of wind.
- Talorssuit, the large shooting sails, i. e. the place, the formations of which form natural shooting sails.
- Tarajornitsiq, that which has a salt taste or smell, i. e. the lake with saline water.
- Taseralik, the place where there are many small lakes, meres.
- Tasermiut, the inhabitants of the place at the lake, mere.
- Tasermiutsiaq, the rather small dwelling-place near the lake, mere.

Tasersiaq, the acquired or superadded lake.
Taserssuaq, the large lake.

Tasilik, the place (the island) where there is a lake.

Tasiussaq, the sea bay which reminds one of a lake (i. e. which has a narrow inlet from the sea).

Tasiussarssuit, strictly: the large sea bays resembling meres: when used as a place-name the most plausible explanation is that it is to be regarded as a kind of *pluralis majestatis*, i. e. the uncommonly large bay reminding of a lake.

Tasiussårssuk, the not very impressive sea bay resembling a lake, mere.

Tasiussårssuk akutdleq, the midmost, not very impressive sea bay resembling a lake.

Tasivigssuaq, the real, large lake; the Danish name is "Storsoen" (i. e. the large lake).

Tigssaluk, the place where something bubbles or spurts up. Name of a mountain which looks as if it sends forth smoke.

Tingimiut, the inhabitants of the place where birds fly upwards.

Tingmiarmiut, the inhabitants of the place where there are birds.

Tiningnertôq, the place where there is generally very low water.

Törnårssuk, the name of the "great spirit" of the Eskimos, strictly "the special assistant spirit" or "the small assistant spirit".

Törnårssuk, same as preceding.

Torssukátak, the narrow sound, strait or course leading to a larger body of water.

Tugssâq, the place where there is a narrow isthmus.

Tugto, the reindeer, i. e. the place where these animals are to be found.

Tugtuglissuaq, the place where there are (or were) many reindeer.

Tugtupiluk, the small reindeer hunting ground.

Tugtutôq, the place where there is (or was) abundance of reindeer.

Tunertôq, the place where there are (or were) many inland dwellers. The word *tuneq* originally means Red Indian, as being an inland dweller in relation to the Eskimo; on being transferred to Greenland it has come to be used about a legendary figure living in the inland.

Tuno, the back of something; the sound which passes behind (the large island).

Tunoq, same as preceding.

Tunuarimiut, those who live at the back of it (the tract, the island or the like).

Tunugdliafik, the place which one approaches by the backway.

Tununermiut, the inhabitants of the place which turns its back (on another place).

Tunungassoq, the place which turns to-

wards the back (i. e. inwards towards the inland instead of outwards towards the sea).

Tuperssuatsiaq, the rather large tent, i. e. either the place which resembles a tent or the tenting place.

Ugssuit, the bearded seal, i. e. the place where such are found.

Uigordleq, the appendage farthest out; the outermost in a row. Frequently occurring name of islands.

Uivfaq, projecting land which one must skirt. Frequently occurring place-name.

Ujaragssuaq, the large stone.

Ujaragssuit, plural of preceding.

Ujaragtarifik, the place where one fetches stones (for buildings).

Ujaragtôrssuaq, the place where there is great abundance of stones.

Ukivik, the wintering place.

Ulimak, the place where there is material suitable for axes.

Ulungnarssuaq, the place which resembles or reminds one of the blade of a lance of huge dimensions.

Ûmánaq, the place which resembles or reminds one of a heart. Frequently occurring name of localities, marked by a mountain in the shape of an inverted heart.

Ûmáñarssuaq, the large heart-shaped (mountain).

Ûmánatsiaq, the rather large heart-shaped (mountain).

Umiámáko, literally: they are umiaks, those over there! i. e. the place bears a striking resemblance to a woman's boat.

Umiarfik, the place where vessels are (or were) wrecked.

Umiartorfik, the place where (or to where) people travel in umiaks.

Umívik, the place where the umiak is hauled ashore (for the night, when travelling).

Ûnartoq, the hot one (the place where there is a hot spring). Frequently occurring place-name.

Ungôrsivik, the place where the sea mammals are surrounded and driven in to be killed.

Uniortoq, the place where one misses fire.

Univiarssuk, the little place where people sometimes come to stay permanently.

Upêrnivik, the place where people come to live during the summer; the summering place.

Utorqag, the old, i. e. the place where old people live.

Utorqat, plural of preceding and meaning the same thing.

Uvkusigssat, the place where there is material for the making of cooking vessels; the soapstone mountain.

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